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A MICROCOSM OF EMPIRE

A MICROCOSM OF EMPIRE
(BRITISH EAST AFRICA)

A POLITICAL, RACIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDY

WITH SPECIAL APPENDIXES GIVING EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION APPOINTED TO EXAMINE LOCALLY INTO THE TRADE & RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY, AND SPECIALLY DRAWN MAP

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BY

ALEXANDER DAVIS

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PREFACE

BRITISH EAST AFRICA, the subject of this book, has reaped one benefit out of the War: it has become specifically known, at least by repute, by thousands of British people and South Africans who otherwise would merely have recalled it as a part of Africa on the east coast of indefinite entity, coloured red on the map. To-day, thousands of Britishers in khaki have visited it in the course of their duty of upholding the Flag against the German hordes, black and white; and all the relatives and friends of those who have bled, suffered, and striven there have some vicarious knowledge of the country through letters sent home by their friends.

The aim in the following chapters is to reveal to those who may be already interested in the country certain inner facts and deductions from the standpoint and experience of one who has enjoyed several

years' residence there, and who in the course of his travels and his journalistic career has had peculiar advantages of feeling the pulse of the settlers, and the commercial and political trend of the settlement. It is not pretended that the subject is at all exhausted in these few chapters; in fact, an apology is due to the reader for the very condensed character of the remarks on the various subjects.

Another and equally important motive in issuing the book is to provide a measure to the governing authorities in Downing Street by which they may better determine the character of the young Colony they are handling. It is not expected that the views revealed will gain the unqualified adhesion or support of every one connected with the Colony, at Home or locally; but the author is satisfied to risk any criticism these views may engender, confident on the whole that he reflects generally the opinion of the British settler, and convinced that the settlers' interests are the true interests of the Empire—just as, conversely, the Mother Country's interests are bound with those of the Colonies.

THE AUTHOR.

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A MICROCOSM OF EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

To attempt to lay down or define any ruling principle by which one may distinguish the method of the growth of Britain's colonies would be a vain endeavour, for the simple reason that, like Topsy, "they growed." They have not come to pass as the result of a deliberate national craving for *welt-politik*, or of a craving for "a place in the sun" — the mailed-fisted demand of an over-ripe and lordly German Fatherland, whose industrial and commercial expansion sought subservient avenues of tributary markets. The growth of the British Empire, national as it may be correctly deemed, is not the creation of any particular political set, faction, or genius, in the sense that Bismarck made Germany or Cavour

made Italy, nor has it been due to any concerted impulse of the Mother Country and her people to acquire dominion abroad. The result has been essentially the expression of the individual spirit and enterprise which sought adventure and commerce as a first motive, and a desire to establish British culture and civilization as the secondary expression. These two movements being satisfied, the essential attribute became revealed of a peculiar British genius for self-government and for ruling and controlling alien races, which influences completed the chain of conquest, settlement, and empire. It may not be derived from this epitome of movement that all has been straight-sailing, or that the essential spirit in these activities has sufficed to create the splendid result without many sacrifices, failures and varied intermediate stages of success and non-success; but progress, if in detail intermittent, sometimes stationary and sometimes retrogressive, on the whole has been definitive and constant; hence the Empire and Dominions as they are to-day.

As just observed, the greater credit for the exploration, settlement, and development of these Dominions is due to the

individual of the nation rather than to any organized policy or impulse from the governing powers and councils of Great Britain. Where the Sovereign or Government has acted, the propulsive influence has come from the individual, either in his commercial or adventurous capacity or in combination in the form of groups or companies. From Raleigh, Drake, and Cook to the East India Company; from the New Zealand and Australian companies to the East Africa, West Africa, and British South Africa companies of more recent dates; discovery, colonization, and settlement were the results of individual genius and individual direct intention, and not due to a Government's resolve and purpose to acquire territory and dominion. Whatever the past credit which may belong to the Sovereign or statesman is quite overshadowed and nearly forgotten beside the greatness of the individual efforts of the founders of Empire; on some occasions with Government help and patronage, and on many occasions against Government desire and inclination. It is, therefore, not surprising that such movements of British colonization, mainly based on individual initiative and racial enterprise, should have

developed as it has in colonial independence and mutual relations, instead of remaining mere outposts of the Homeland and depending on Home patronage. The strength of the Colonial Empire rests in this healthy self-dependence, which has always become expressed directly the colonial community feels its feet as a political entity. This independence has not translated itself into separation, for the national spirit has always been kept alive by the strong pride and patriotic spirit of the colonial Britishers; both those of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic descent and others of alien derivation. The pride of the Britisher in his flag and nation has surmounted all separatist tendencies, except in the one case of America, where force and misrule bred colonial animosity, and the time brought forth the man in George Washington to direct the resistance and found an independent nation. Doubtless, had the War of Independence not have succeeded, the troubles of those times would have been surmounted, and even the United States may have remained another new Britain oversea. Though other differences have arisen since during the days of development in other colonies, yet the lesson had

been learned, and a " way out " has always been discovered to fit the allegiance of the colonists with the requirements of the Crown.

That these differences have not been more acute and more frequently exhibited is one of the most surprising facts of the movement. When it is realized how different the social, industrial, and political life of our colonies is when contrasted with the Home Country, then one may adequately appreciate the difficulties of mutual understanding. In the development and progress of a new colony, wherever that may be out of Europe, almost all the fundamental conditions which influence nationality and creative statesmanship differ most materially from the conditions in the Motherland. There are climate, environment, aborigines, a clean social slate, more elbow-room, parochial or up-country exclusiveness, the open avenue to mediocrity, the close, almost intimate contact with the administrative machine, freedom of speech, variants in custom, lack of poverty, and a broader range of activity : there is the absence of rank, higher intellect, the literary element, defined social distinctions, extreme wealth, arbitrary rule, strenuous struggle for subsistence, family influences,

and complex class movements. One cannot build up a nation in a day, nor are heaven-born statesmen common; hence all the raw elements of an organized community come to the surface in the founding of a colony, and the mere presence of the Home-trained official, except in rare cases of genius, is not going to place the young community at the same stage of political advancement as the individual enjoys in the Homeland; this cannot be the case in the proper European settlement, as it certainly is not the case where the negro and the savage are under British rule. The official from Home, with all the traditions of Home constitutional rule impressed on him, brings to a distant colony with this training and knowledge his own bias and individuality. He will find in all but very rare cases that local conditions conquer him rather than he conquer local conditions. Hence the mere fact of having close connection with the Motherland by means of British-trained officialdom does not connote that the political bent of the colony will be fashioned in accordance with Home views.

Hence the tendency for local views and conditions to evolve ideas and ideals not in

direct consonance with the Home conception of how a colony should be ruled and make progress. In the one subject of treatment of natives we have this divergence most strongly expressed. No colony yet established has seen eye-to-eye with the Motherland, or even approximated this unanimity, on the treatment to be meted to the aborigine. This has been so strongly the case that British individuals of the very group which takes the extreme Home view of things in this direction, when from choice or circumstance they come to settle in the colony they were previously judging from without, become almost without exception converted to the colonial view, in many, and perhaps most cases after only a month's sojourn in that colony they had erstwhile disputed and traduced. By the people of England the black is in the main charitably regarded as a man and a brother; not having a colour problem in their midst, they can have no real understanding of a European colony where a colour problem persists. They are like a person who has never experienced toothache, abject poverty, the loss of a limb, or some other keen affliction, and rely upon vicarious

impressions in estimating the precise degree of pain or discomfort experienced by the subject afflicted. In homely parlance, "he who wears the shoes knows best where they pinch." This instance of native treatment may be multiplied manifold in other directions; such as in land laws, practical administration, taxes, religious foundations, labour legislation, sanitation, education, military service, punishment for crimes, and so forth. In all these domains the treatment may have to differ necessarily from the treatment considered proper and adequate in the Home Country.

Yet there are other factors which tend and have tended to keep the equilibrium in unity of Empire in a national or racial sense. The Britisher takes with him to the colonies his insular habits, and though from a common-sense and discriminative standpoint these customs are absurd exotics in other climes and other latitudes, yet in the case of a majority of these British habits they rise superior to their surroundings. For example, football in the tropics with the sun over 80 degrees in the shade; the liquid refreshment in the tropics of soda and whisky and beer; the early institution of a

Turf Club wherever horses can survive and a half-dozen sportsmen can congregate; the British love of boxing; the heavy lunch meal, late dinner, and late hours; the vogue of the stiff collar, and even, in British East Africa, where nary a fox is to be found, a pack of harriers after jackal! Now, these tendencies to remain British, however adverse the environment, are not common to all European nations. In Mexico, Peru, and Brazil the Spanish and Portuguese colonization became allied with, and absorbed by, the land of its establishment. German colonial rule seems to sit ill superimposed on German administrative genius as exhibited in the Fatherland, and lacks in adaptability to colonial conditions, mainly due to excessive bureaucratic methods; though Germans make some of the best of colonists under the British flag. French and Belgian colonizations either remain as exotics on the soil or trend towards the Latin tendency of absorption by the local ethnological and climatic conditions. Britain alone seems to develop along a line of colonization which either makes new Britains abroad or stands severely aloof from ethnological embarrassment and imposes only rule, without the

taint of subversive absorption by the foreign environment. Probably the fortunate selection of locality has a deal to do with the British advantage; certainly some intermixture of race has not been altogether avoided, but only on the fringe of racial contact, without affecting the main principle of pride and maintenance of race.

It is thus seen that two tendencies have been exhibited in British colonization—the negative and positive of colonial progress. Local conditions tend to the gradual creation of new worlds, while the British insular methods, principles, and derivative and traditional custom and patriotism are factors which keep development within the scheme of British thought and interest. The Britisher abroad is at one and the same time an Imperialist and a separationist. The Mother Country to him is always the Mother Country, though he has never visited her shores. And even the colonist of foreign origin calls England his Home naturally and instinctively, though his antecedents may have been derived from quite strange countries, and sprung from other races.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY ESTABLISHMENT

It is necessary to bear in mind all that has been said in our introduction to the subject in considering our microcosm of Empire—British East Africa. In this corner of the Empire all these conditions are in full and active operation at their most interesting stages, namely, at that stage when the earlier colonization has come to stay, yet before it is blended and stereotyped into a distinct colonial entity, with its own acquired characteristics taking form in definite foundations and activities. British East Africa is still in the making, and a very pretty puzzle it presents to its Colonial Office administrators. The very oldest and most experienced of its administrators have only been active witnesses of an evolution which they can retard, but cannot control. It started as one thing and is progressing to something

else. The earlier designs of the Imperial British East Africa Company under Sir William Mackinnon and his friends, when they obtained a Government Charter, were on lines which have since been found to be feasible, though at that period it is doubtful whether a proper conception was realized of the colonizable qualities British East Africa inherently possessed. This Company failed in its design, in large measure overborne by the Government conditions imposed, though it did yeoman work towards the country's later destiny. In those days, as now at present, in fact, the stepping-stone to the interior, Mombasa, was an ancient settlement of Arab influence, which threw its trading tentacles far into the interior, the happy hunting-ground of the slave-trader and the ivory-hunter and dealer. When the Imperial Government took the territory over through the medium of the Foreign Office, the main intention and policy was to safeguard British interest and administer to British sentiment by holding a highway into the interior, to Uganda and the Lakes, for the main purpose of checking the slave trade and providing safety for those missions which had already estab-

lished themselves in Uganda to preach the Gospel to the heathen; this movement, indeed, an outcome of the tales of explorers and travellers of the benighted wonders of the Lake and Nile regions of Central Africa.

But as trade follows the Flag, so did British interests creep in. The Germans were also active along the coast, with their own explorers and "empire-builders," so that in the end some concrete possession had to be taken between recognized boundaries. The history of these treaties and settlements may be found elsewhere recorded in the many explorers' books and official documents of the period and later. In any case, British East Africa, as it is now known, fell to British influence and control, and one of the earliest acts of the British Foreign Office was to continue the scheme of communication with the interior earlier initiated by the Imperial East Africa Company. That pioneer company made an attempt to construct a "railway" line to the interior, starting from the mainland by means of a narrow trolly gauge, subsequently abandoned for its ambitious purpose and placed in the streets of Mombasa, where it is

used to-day. The so-called Uganda Railway was eventually built, which line never entered Uganda proper, as it ended on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria; though the apparent misnomer is excusable in the light that in the early days the eastern shore of the Lake was also included in the territory known as Uganda, though since included in the East Africa Protectorate and later known as the Nyanza Province.

It may therefore be seen that the earlier British administration had no first thought or design to "colonize" this territory by the establishment of a resident European community, nor to invite others to do so. To them, in those days, the land was largely one of mystery and savagery, peopled by Africans of unknown potentiality, except it was known that they were savage and that many tribes were very warlike. The trade of the interior was then in the hands of the Arab and the Indian, while Mahommedanism had an ancient and permanent hold of the preponderating Swahilis of the coast, together with other important tribes, such as the Galla, the Somali, and the Baganda, who had been converted by the

same teaching in a more or less corrupt form. When plague and famine were decimating the millions of India, due, it was thought by some authorities, to over-population, the territory of British East Africa, which faced this Dependency across the Indian Ocean, where Indian settlement and commerce had already taken root, naturally gave rise to the thought and intention of developing the colony as an outlet for the Indian. Everything seemed to point to this design. The climate was similar; there was a subject population; the Indian artisan, coolie, and trader were necessary in a place where the natives were too savage to develop in measurable time, and where, it was thought, European colonization would be impossible on the lines that it had taken root in other climes. So the laws imposed and the machinery of government devised were essentially Indian; and the rupee coinage, already in vogue, was adopted to fit in more closely to the prospective design.

But, as previously shown, here, as elsewhere, the colonizing genius of the Britisher proved stronger than Home blindness and Government apathy. As the Uganda Rail-

way crept on its remarkable road to its objective, great tracts of fair, fruitful, and healthy country became revealed to the builders. The existence of these great uplands was already known; but being in the latitude they were—practically on the line of the Equator itself—it is not surprising that the few appreciative descriptions of this splendid land, published in the books of early explorers, were not seriously considered as connoting possibilities of European settlement, especially in view of the unhealthiness of the littorals and their situation directly on the Equator. But tidings of this magnificent tract of healthy uplands penetrated to various quarters in the Home Country and South Africa, resulting in the gradual arrival of colonists, to whom allotments of land were given on nominal terms.

It is not our present purpose to write a history of the settlement of British East Africa. Sufficient for our purpose here is it to record that settlement followed the construction of the railway. When the line reached an altitude exceeding 5,000 feet from sea-level and discovered a series of vast uplands or steppes of moderate and equable temperature, and apparently healthy, temporary

headquarters were established; the locality being midway between the sea and the Lake and the starting-point for a great climb over the Kedong Escarpment to reach the Great Rift Valley, along which the railway was to continue until it climbed over another and higher escarpment, to drop finally 5,000 feet to the shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza.

It was finally decided to proclaim Nairobi a township, where a few European and a larger number of Indian traders established themselves. The Government headquarters were subsequently removed from Mombasa, the ancient political and commercial centre of these parts, to the new city in this cooler and more healthy clime, and Nairobi became the capital. European settlement grew; individuals and men representing colonizing syndicates came up to view the land and found it good. British East Africa, being unsurpassed for game shooting, attracted many a big-game hunter, mostly men of means and of good station of life at Home. Many of these returned again and again, and some finally took up land and resided on their estates. Among this class the best known and most prominent was Lord Delamere, who not only became possessed of

great estates, but also personally conducted their development. Others from South Africa, sound and mature colonists such as Mr. R. Chamberlain, the late Mr. Russell Bowker, and Mr. A. S. Flemmer, became large property owners, until in 1908 some 3,000 European colonists had spread themselves over the land, with probably 800 residing at Nairobi; though those Europeans in official service should be deducted from these totals, from a colonizing standpoint. In 1914, at the outbreak of the war, these numbers had largely increased, there being estimated in Nairobi alone to be from 1,500 to 2,000 Europeans, with about 18,000 coloured population. In these numbers are included a large proportion of European women and children; for family settlement established itself in British East Africa in the Highlands even more rapidly than in most other colonies at the early stages of their foundation.

In Uganda, conditions from a colonizing standpoint differed materially from the sister colony the other side of the great Lake. Already, before the railway was built (as previously recorded), European settlement, mostly in the shape of missionary enterprise,

had developed itself among that teeming and intelligent tribe, whose mild and docile dispositions so contrasted with the cruel despots who ruled them. Few Europeans outside those connected with the British administration and the missionary societies and sects settled in this beautiful and fruitful land. The land was still vested largely in the hands of the chiefs and tribes. Government has never seriously invited settlement there, until in quite recent years. The few enterprising civilians penetrating to Uganda were mostly hunters, and principally elephant hunters, going to and returning from the Congo Territory, while others adventurously took the route home via the Nile basin. But during the last few years even here colonization has progressed. The climate is truly tropical, but without the excessive heat of the coast or other places of common tropical reputation. Plantations have been found highly profitable, the climate and soil being extraordinarily favourable for plant growth of tropical kind. Coffee planting has brought a fine return, and cocoa and rubber are pronounced successes. Prominent among the pioneers of the industry are Messrs. Hunter and Moses,

of whom more will be said when the conditions of Uganda come to be particularly considered. In recent years a number of young fellows of a good social class and some capital have gone in for planting in Uganda.

It is thus realized, by what has been said, that the colonies of British East Africa and Uganda duly grew in character and type as other and older growths of Empire settlement. As in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Nigeria, India, and Rhodesia, East Africa has had its Chartered Company stage and its natural process of ordinary settlement, not government directed nor government invited. The Flag was flown, and the rest followed. British administration naturally came with the Flag. In the case of British East Africa, the railway to the Lake was purely an Imperial enterprise in intent and execution, together with the steamers which followed on the Lake to connect up the rail terminus with Uganda. This great and worthy enterprise was conceived as a strategic and philanthropical link between the Coast under British influence and the interior of Darkest Africa under missionary influence; that trade and commerce might follow was an additional incentive which

weighed in the resolve to enter into this great expenditure. But it is important to bear in mind that when Lord Salisbury got Parliamentary support and sanction to the undertaking there was little thought or promise of European colonization to follow. The Uganda Railway was not built as a commercial enterprise for colonizing and trade purposes. That it has proved the spine from which radiated British colonization has been a development not anticipated at the time of its inception, nor realized even when colonization made its appearance, nor recognized fully even until quite recently ; for, as will be seen later, the whole policy of the successive earlier administrations has been directed mainly towards the welfare of the native millions *en route*, rather than to the fostering of European settlement. There has been no belief in official quarters in real colonization of these parts, and medical and other authorities have always expressed doubts of the permanency of European family settlement. It should be understood that by colonization and settlement in the sense used here we mean to convey permanent domestic settlement.

CHAPTER III

THE COUNTRY

THERE are probably very few, if any places in the world which may be likened to British East Africa and Uganda. Nature works with ever-varied wonders, and the physical features of a land, like those of an individual, are never precisely the same, though resemblances here and there are discovered. Only the veriest globe-trotter might identify the contour and vegetation of one country with another in distant latitudes. Doubtless some resemblance to East Africa might be found in Ceylon, British Guiana, New Guinea, or elsewhere; but viewed closely, one may with truth, we think, deem East Africa—that portion between Mombasa and Lake Albert Edward—as unique in lands. In the first place, this peculiar region lies directly on the Equator. Essentially tropical in latitude, its clime varies greatly with altitude—not in the sense that a huge mountain may

vary as one penetrates the different zones to the snow regions, but as a land it varies. At the coast it is essentially tropical, to the extent of being the habitat of the baobab and mango trees and of large coco-nut plantations. Without the necessity of climbing or crossing any ranges of mountains, the altitude rises sharply, the country being as if bodily uplifted or propped in its centre to 10,000 feet and gradually dropped again to the Lake Victoria of 3,800 feet. The best illustration of this is seen in the plan contour map of the Uganda Railway, which shows as a conical hat. The tropically fertile belt of the coast is followed by a great extent of scrubby and tangled desert vegetation, without water other than rain-pools in the season, the home of the wild sansevieria fibre, like bayonets sticking in the thickets, and the peculiar candelabra-like euphorbia plant, with a plentiful sprinkling of a huge tuber plant of all shapes and sizes bestrewn on the veld and appearing to the casual observer like white boulders on the red soil. In parts, this wild and rank scrubby bush gives place to the most luxurious belts of rich soil, thick with tropical verdure and forest, and fed by

constant streams appearing suddenly from subterranean sources, and which are scientifically considered to be derived from the snow-clad slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. Some of these "oases" of the sub-littoral regions have been acquired by one or two planting companies, where rubber and sisal have been more or less successfully cultivated. Following the railway line, which travels a little north of west, about 200 miles from the coast the country changes again, the dense bush forest giving place to a more open, but still essentially tropical country, with some fine isolated and broken chains of mountains on either side. We have now reached an altitude of about 3,000 feet, and the country, though evidently fertile and watered by occasional small rivers, is still of that character which has not proved healthy to the European. Climbing a series of broad terraces, the vegetation becomes lighter and the veld more open, until a country is reached which has all the external evidences of a beautiful tract eminently suited to grazing and cultivation. But here again settlement has been ignored or postponed, for in addition to being of a doubtful character for health, the numerous

watercourses and ravines are dry the best portion of the year. At a later stage in the settlement of the colony this land also may prove fruitful and sought after, with the discovery of water, if not on the surface, yet by means of sinking. It is a pretty and alluring country. But, as the line progresses, yet further heights are reached, always over broad open lands and not really mountainous country. The line soon approaches the great Athi Plains, which are still to-day teeming with game of all varieties, from giraffe to the smaller antelope; great open, grassy stretches, with scanty bush and cover only in the wooded ravines of occasional and bordering low mountains. We are now at an altitude of about 4,000 feet, and the morning air is crisp; we have left behind the close and intense heat of the tropics proper. Here, at this stage, we are bordering on colonization and settlement. Though no homesteads are seen near the line of rail, an occasional farm may be discovered in the distance on slopes of the adjacent hills. Looking ahead, the first sign of the Highlands proper may be discerned in a low range of distant mountains, the first herald of the remarkable escarpments for which

these Highlands are famous. The train speeds along, having accomplished in twenty hours some 300 miles of steady climbing, to 5,000 feet above sea-level. In brief space, after traversing some 50 to 100 miles of these apparently limitless plains, the first sight of Nairobi is gained, a town built on the plains, but at the foot of the higher altitudes of the first remarkable escarpment before the line descends into the Great Rift Valley. Though diverse views have been expressed as to the wisdom of establishing the capital here, a close acquaintance with the various alternative localities fails to impress a notion of any more suitable place.

The climate and surroundings at Nairobi are as healthy as any other place in the country. The altitude is neither so excessive as in many other parts of the Highlands, nor low enough to invite any serious danger from malaria (as has been proved by its record). The temperature, again, is the happy medium in the Highlands, and of a most equable character, with low variations of maximum and minimum. Situated on the edge of the limitless Athi Plains, it has a rising country of pretty wooded aspect as a suburb and a background. The com-

mercial area is on the flat, and the residential portions on two adjacent rises, which join or spring from the town proper without physical obstacle or break to divide them in the shape of a valley or ravine. In fact, Nairobi marks the first rise of the higher lowlands, merging into the Highlands proper.

Leaving Nairobi, following the line of rail, which traverses the territory from east to west, a gradual climb on a stiff railway gradient conveys the traveller to the higher altitudes, traversing a land of splendid rich soil and withal plentifully wooded. Here settlements are numerous, and the products receiving main attention are coffee, mealies, black wattle, potatoes, fruit, and cattle. Water runs perennially in every stream, and at 8,000 feet mist frequently prevails at early morning. Many farmers in this locality have resided here with their families for several years, and the children of the place are robust and healthy. In fact, this part of the land, from Kikuyu to Escarpment, is an ideal European settlers' land, and its area extends over hundreds of square miles of fertile country. Rather unfortunately, a large slice of the best territory here adjacent to the railway is closed to settlement, due to the early

mistake of proclaiming it a Kikuyu tribal reserve. The country given to the natives is very sparsely inhabited and very little cultivated. The common sight of a patch of poor mealies of an acre or two in places where the soil is rich and hundreds of acres waiting the clearing, offends the eye of the critical observer. The native cultivation is poor in quality of plant, only partly weeded (if weeded at all), and, naturally, unfenced. It is like giving a savage who has small wants a thousand golden sovereigns to buy sweets with. Here and there among the waste of good soil a European holding occasionally intrudes itself, with acres of scientific plantation and hundreds of head of grade cattle, emphasizing the economic anomaly. But the irony of this portion of the Native Reserves is the circumstance that it marches with the railway, which draws but small advantage from the native proximity; while elsewhere in the Protectorate European farmers, who are cultivating scientifically, have to carry their produce from 50 to 100 miles to market. This Native Reserve is, however, only a small one, compared with others in the country, and the remarks here expressed only apply to this

particular tract, the subject in detail being considered more fully later.

A similar country to this on the line of rail extends for miles north of the line, and is divided from the western portion of the Highlands by the Great Rift Valley, which great depression is expressed by massive escarpments. But the Rift Valley itself is also a part of this highland country. Its elevation ranges from 4,500 to 5,500 feet along its lowest parts, and within this valley (which is really a stupendous break or cleft in the Highlands of some 20 to 50 miles in width, extending for hundreds of miles north, as geologists say, to the Red Sea and the Dead Sea, a string of minor lakes marking the depression along the line) are situated such leading agricultural and pastoral centres as Nakuru and Naivasha, each with its lake of the same name. The Rift Valley is essentially a sheep country, the bottom and higher plateaux having short, sweet grass and big open, forestless veld, peculiarly adaptable to sheep, and almost equally suitable for cattle and horses. It is here, in this locality, that the Government Stock Farm has been founded, with big results and high success in the grading up of native stock from pure-bred importations.

After coursing for some miles along the Rift Valley, the railway line climbs the opposite escarpment, the ground rising in graduated folds and slopes to the " Summit," a signboard on the line notifying the traveller that the highest point has been reached, some 10,000 feet. Here a splendid pastoral country is revealed, and freely settled by prosperous farmers. Vast forests clad the heights of the massive walls of this uplifted land, which again descends in great picturesque wooded folds and verdant slopes to the historical Lake Victoria, which waters are reached by a long stretch of light bush and fruitful country, of more tropical temperature and character than the great buttresses of its approach, and known as the Kavirondo country. To the north of the line towers a bastion of sharp hills, sharply outlined against the plain below, known as the Elgeyo Escarpment and the Ravine. These are the walls of another great tract of rich highland, which stretches away to the Uasin Gishu and Mount Elgon districts, already freely settled by the European—men of British and partly of South African and Dutch extraction.

Viewed broadly, we thus have a land in

the tropics, in the centre of Africa, which in large measure is only semi-tropical. One must carefully distinguish this country from the less common semi-tropical lands in India, New Guinea, and in America, which are really temperate zones of mountain systems, the peaks of which tower to snow-line. The Highlands of British East Africa is a *country* uplifted above tropical surroundings, which in no part reaches snow-line (with three mountain exceptions to be indicated later), where frost rarely intrudes itself, and then only at the very highest altitudes; where continual summer reigns by day and cool evenings follow by night; where the length of daylight varies but little during the year; where the range of cultivable economic products is unrivalled, and where the entire soil, with few exceptions, is of that volcanic lava character indicative of the richest of soils, and in most parts is as deep as it is rich in quality.

Dominating these unique, broad Highlands stand three massive sentinels, two crowned with their summits of snow. South-east stands Mount Kilimanjaro (19,680 feet), a huge mountain with great fertile buttresses; a territory within itself. This stands at the

borders of British and late German territory, within the latter section. Smaller mountain ranges are its neighbours, but nowhere has it a peer, until a glimpse of our Mount Kenia (17,000 feet) is reached, some 150 miles distant. At Nairobi, and at many other points, these two great snow-clad beacons in a tropical land may be seen simultaneously on a favourable day with the naked eye. Mount Kenia is a noble rival to Kilimanjaro in grandeur and scope, while the third great sentinel is Mount Elgon (14,100 feet), at the north-western extremity of the Highlands. A fourth wonder for the beholder to marvel at is Mount Ruwenzori (16,800 feet), towering above the Lakes basin at the Semliki, on the western border of Uganda, with glaciers and ice-fields at the peak and its base and buttresses spreading amid ideally tropical surroundings.

These physical features of the land account largely for the remarkable climate of the country, bearing in mind its geographical situation. The Equator line runs through this territory, the railway crossing it at 8,000 feet altitude on the western escarpment of the Rift Valley; yet by the uprise of the land—not in mountainous chains nor

in arid steppes, but, so to say, lifted bodily to the clouds—this tropical highland country enjoys all the advantage of a temperate climate without the sudden change of a mountain zone conformation, which marks this condition elsewhere in the tropics. Who can doubt that the great snow-clad peaks of the three mountain masses overlooking this riven highland—of it but apart from it in physical peculiarity—placed at separate coigns of vantage—act as a sort of cooler system to modify the greater heat which would otherwise prevail? In the Highlands of British East Africa rivers are numerous; but it is another circumstance which must be taken into account in estimating the cause of the even, moderate temperature of this region, that no great river of importance with customary regional low malarial banks falls from the Highlands, through the Highlands, into the sea. It is true the great Tana River rises at Kenia, but it takes a sweep north before it turns east to the ocean, and as soon as this great watercourse becomes pronounced into a great and wide river, the country takes its normal tropical and more or less unhealthy character.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLIMATE

WHATEVER detractors may say, this highland region is eminently healthy and fitted for European occupation and family settlement. From early official times theories and legends have been current of the inability of the European to remain permanently on the land and make it his home. When these doubts, or convictions, have been expressed by medical men in the official service—speaking with all the authority due to their knowledge and experience—they have failed to indicate by statistics or close recorded observation the grounds of their theories. When such proofs are demanded, the inevitable reply has been that the settlement is too young for any reliable data of the necessary character. The charges brought against the highland region are that its altitude is too high; that the continuous sun of the tropics affects the

nerves of the resident European settler, and that, due to the latitude, it is absolutely essential that each European should go to Europe for a change at least every three years (this coincidently being the period for official leave!). The reply to these aspersions against the quality of the climate for European permanent residence is that many settlers and their families have resided in the country for six, eight, ten years and more without ill effect;[1] that the children born and bred in the Highlands during the years available for determination are full-sized, robust, and strong (from common observation, failing statistical); that other children brought in early years from Europe or South Africa thrive well, and that adults are found in number who have resided in the land for ten years and more (some since the first establishment of the colony) without an oversea change, and with no proved or marked bad result. Against these favourable evidences may be placed what are admitted exceptions, namely, the prevalence of malaria fever in a mild form (compared with the early days of the East Coast further

[1] See Appendix II, statements of settlers examined by the Government Economic Commission.

south) in the lower altitudes of the Highlands and generally at the Coast. The form this malaria assumes is not dangerous, and those few who contract it in the Highlands are usually but slightly affected and in a temporary and not permanent form. This and tropical dysentery are the only *climatic* diseases in common evidence, the latter disease not of frequent occurrence, but, when contracted, highly dangerous. It was only after some years of settlement that enteric, or typhoid, made its appearance; but its incidence is one of common occurrence in all newly settled lands, and, of course, also in older countries under favourable (or unfavourable!) conditions. In British East Africa the form enteric takes is not a particularly malignant one, and the recoveries are probably well above the average of many other centres. Other "ills that man is heir to" occur in British East Africa, as elsewhere, such as pneumonia, meningitis, and so forth; but there is nothing more extraordinary in their incidence than might be said of many other places. Epidemics of diseases have occurred, notably, on one occasion, dysentery among children, but nothing in the symptoms applied to British

East Africa distinguished the incidence of this disease from that of any other populated centre.

Among the Indian population, and to a less extent among the natives, the bubonic plague makes periodical appearance in the bazaars of Mombasa, Nairobi, and Kisumu; but this disease has been imported into the country from Asia and does not affect the European, except in isolated and extremely rare cases. Sleeping sickness still lingers along portions of the Lake littoral; this again is very rarely contracted by a European, and is unknown in the Highlands or on the sea coast.

The views here given on the climate and the health record of British East Africa are the personal views of one who has lived in the Highlands for nine years with his family—some children brought to the country young, and others born in the land and reared to boyhood. The opinion is the result of much and frequent travel over the different regions and a close knowledge of settler life, domestic and public. The natural and proper check to these opinions should be the statistical health records produced periodically by the Government in their

Annual Official Reports, published by authority, though the information there to be gathered leaves great room for improvement from a statistical standpoint.

From what has been stated, we thus see a pleasant and habitable colony situated in the tropics and already largely colonized by the European. We will therefore proceed to describe the character of the settlement as it presents itself to-day to the student of colonization.

CHAPTER V

THE CLASSES

FIRST in rank (if not in subjective importance) in the hierarchy is the official class. It is doubtful if in any other British colony (excluding India) the phrase " official class " bears the same significance as in British East Africa. In any case, neither in the Home Country nor in South Africa have we the precise prototype of the British East Africa official class as it is viewed by the settler or resident. Other colonies have been governed from the Mother Country, more or less directly, or by companies (such as Rhodesia) deputing their administrative powers to officials of their selection; but before the advent of British East Africa and its Governors and their methods, the British world had to look to foreign nations for a real and concrete division between the governors and the governed in a colonial territory settled by Europeans. That the

division exists cannot be disputed; that such a state of difference should have arisen may be regrettable, but its existence is due to no set design of any authority in particular. Bureaucratic exotic control has been the cause.

The official class in B.E.A. (as the colony is familiarly called by its people) is almost wholly recruited from Great Britain, just as are the settlers mainly. But the two classes arrive and take up their residence under an entirely different set of conditions and aspirations. The official is declaredly an exotic—a visitor and a bird of passage. From the Governor downwards their home and hopes are in the Mother Country and the Colonial Office at Downing Street; their vocations in the colony are incidental and temporary. Under the Colonial Service a certain number of years have to be served. Some remain in the colony for a number of years; others are in a few years translated to higher positions elsewhere. They arrive in the territory to administer it, the qualification a Home training, invariably a public school or university training. Governors, judges, magistrates, provincial commissioners, district com-

missioners, inspectors of police, and right through the rung of officialdom, the governing class is superimposed on the colonial and native communities. These officials are not permitted to possess, by the rules of the service, any material interest in the country; may neither own land, build houses, nor invest their savings in any local concerns. If the revenue increases they receive no benefit; if the revenue falls they do not suffer. It is not the question of a salutary rule that no official of a department may be personally interested in the commercial or speculative side of his department; but that neither he, nor his wife, nor family may interest themselves in any investment, business, or enterprise in any part of the country. Hence it is, whether the rule be right or wrong, sound or unsound, that the interest of the official is wholly in his professional routine, and his advancement only possible through the official machine. Red tape abounds; initiative is suppressed.

Official service starts with the Governor, who is a nominee and representative of the Colonial Office. Tradition in British East Africa, from the earliest Governors (with one notable exception, who suffered very

materially for his independence), orders that all affairs of public moment entailing change or progress shall be submitted by the Governor to the Colonial Office before he may sanction any measure locally. This supervision does not appear to be an absolute ruling laid down ; but rarely does a Governor act on his own initiative, even in introducing a new measure, without official Home sanction. This tutelage is quite apart from the right of the Crown to veto any Bill or Ordinance passed by the Legislative Council, which is very properly maintained and insisted upon in its fullness. The Governor does not rule the community as a trusted representative of the Home Government and His Majesty the King, but essentially as a sub-agent who has no executive control other than in carrying out the Colonial Office policy, its behests and decisions. This condition has been carried down religiously by the Indian officials appointed from the earliest days of settlement. It is doubtful whether the rule or understanding has ever been laid down as a concrete policy by any Colonial Secretary. It seems to have grown from the method in vogue at the Colonial Office of placing certain territories and pro-

tectorates under a departmental sub-chief at Downing Street. All the affairs of any such colony in particular are entrusted to their special department, to be pigeon-holed and controlled by a permanent official for the information of the Colonial Secretary for the time being in office. In theory this system should work well, as the permanent officials dealing with any particular Protectorate must necessarily have more close and intimate knowledge of that colony's conditions than any party statesman who may assume office from time to time by mere virtue of his political prominence or Home statesmanship. The evil in the method is the creation of a bureaucracy behind the scenes, under whose guidance or information the Colonial Secretary acts—unless this political potentate be such an exceptional statesman and worker and such an independent-thinking personality as, for instance, the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Thus the Governor—or those Governors within whose period of office the colony has been mostly in evidence—is guided in his policy by the wishes or views of the permanent authority at the Colonial Office, instead of mainly by his own wisdom and initiative in accordance

with the actual conditions reigning in the colony.

As an example of this principle in working, we have the land law of the colony. For over six years this law has been in the making. The Governor of the earlier day reported his views to the Colonial Office; his recommendations or review of the conditions to be dealt with had the consideration of Downing Street. After many months the Ordinance as approved and laid down by the colonial authorities was sent back to the Governor to pass the Legislative Council. At the first published draft the settlers and their Press strongly protested at its main provisions and declared they would have nothing of it. The Governor then tried to amend it a little more in accordance with the public wish; but, still thinking it his duty to refer it back to the Colonial Office for confirmation before bringing it again before the Legislative Council, the instrument was sent Home again. This process continued from year to year, period to period, and the Bill was finally passed in a more acceptable form; but still not acceptable to the public opinion of British East Africa in one or two impor-

tant particulars. Had the Governor or Governors (for during the period three successive Governors had dealt with the Bill) undertaken their proper responsibility in fashioning an instrument with an endeavour to meet both the ideals of the Colonial Office and the sentiments of the settlers, and presented the best measure to meet the situation duly passed by his Council (as he had voting power to do), the present fairly satisfactory measure would have been anticipated by at least three years. The point here emphasized is not to advocate any weakening of the Imperial right of veto, but to strengthen the trust in, and encourage the initiative of, "the man on the spot," who is *ipse facto* supposed to be capable of administering his colony or protectorate, and should accept the responsibility of facing the veto of Downing Street (after due consultation of its wishes by dispatch or in person or deputy), so that the work be done locally by the Governor and his officials (assisted by settler opinion), and not framed, devised, and run by the Colonial Office, some thousands of miles away from the peculiar local conditions—in this case very complex—which are involved in the measure.

Next in rank to the Governor comes the Chief Secretary, a kind of Lieutenant-Governor and Premier combined in one office. He controls the administrating machine and acts in high policy under the instructions of his chief. Below these two high officials are the various heads of departments, who severally, in their turn, accept just as small an amount of responsibility and exhibit the same small amount of initiative as the Governor in his relation to the Colonial Office. The whole system is a bureaucracy in its purest form, and veers away from the popular British ideal of a local administration acting for the best advantage of the community governed, while safeguarding that British Imperial interest which its connection orders. To put the case in more practical and homely fashion, the branch firm of the Empire in British East Africa has its books of accounts and its trading account controlled from London, so that no expense, no credit, no trust may be ventured upon by the local manager in the high conduct of his business without previous and formal sanction of his employers at the head office. No branch business of wide scope

was ever run successfully under such conditions.

Due to this close dependence of the official classes on the hierarchy above them—executing the will of their immediate chief with no power of initiative given them—we find Provincial and District Commissioners administering whole regions of great extent, and others presiding over large commercial interests (such as in the towns), whose official lives are lived by rote, with no power, or little power, to alter practice and precedent to suit the growing times, even in departmental detail. This condition is so fully recognized that the younger officials of commissioner grade are considered suited to the work required when coming straight from a public school, without the slightest experience or knowledge of local conditions. "Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do or die"—and in some of the regions of the Protectorate the latter alternative is no mere expression.

Such a system were impossible even under superficial efficiency, were it not for the more practical side of the working. The selection in the Mother Country of the university class of young fellow for the Colonial

Service results in the officials, with few exceptions indeed, being gentlemen; a very great advantage in discipline, respect, propriety, honesty, and the "stamp" given to the Government. The minor grades of the official service endeavour to live up to the ideal from above. High intellect or experience is not demanded in a pure bureaucracy. So long as the machine works silently and smoothly the machine is in order; and the utmost of politeness and good-fellowship reigns in official circles from Government House downwards. An important factor which keeps administration together is the presence in every department of one or more "old stagers" (not intended disrespectfully). Such a person may control a department, or may be second or third in rank in the department. There are some of these officials who have been eight, ten, or fourteen years in the service. They have been placed in the system at the outset and grown with it; gaining a knowledge of every part of their section of the machine, devising very little to improve it, leaving its working unimpaired and unaltered when they depart. Officials after some years' service in British East Africa are commonly translated on

promotion to another part of the Crown Colony system, and others again from elsewhere are translated on promotion to British East Africa. Hence it is that the official machine has its interior working and its connections abroad. It is devised in true British fashion, of good and sound material, guaranteed to stand against all official demands made on it; but it is not up to date, nor has it any inherent powers of progress and improvement. One day a new propulsion will arise—a statesman or a Commission—to discover that the whole outfit has survived its day and stands as an anachronism amid newly developed and changing colonial surroundings.

The next class to be considered—next in social importance and most to be dreaded by the routine-bound official who governs it—is that still locally known as the "settler" class. When and how this expression first came into vogue in British East Africa is not known to the writer. In English, the expression "settler" applied to a colony connoted the earlier European who first colonized the place, and in this sense is the word correct when applied to the Europeans arriving and settling during the

first five or ten years of the country's colonial history. The expression to-day does not do justice to the already established colonization in British East Africa. The new arrivals now are not mere settlers, but actual or intending colonists. The colony to-day has its established towns and trade centres, its widespread agricultural activity, with few new regions to "settle" (meaning where settlement has not already been started): it has really passed the settler stage and should be dignified with the name "colony." The present existing resident settlers are now colonists; and those who are coming after have little to explore, or new settlements to found, other than to fill up the parts where settlement is still scanty. British East Africa is to-day in the transition stage between "settlement" and "colonization," but being still the vogue, we call the Europeans who are established in the country —agricultural, planting, and commercial— "settlers." The settler element is now firmly rooted; the greater number have their money and interests in the country; British East Africa is now regarded as their home and the home of their children.

It is therefore of interest to review the class of settler which is now setting its stamp on the character of the settlement. Defined broadly, the British settler in British East Africa is mainly recruited from two chief sources—Great Britain direct, with a strong upper-class strain among the leading individuals, and South Africa—the British South African and Africander of British proclivities predominating perhaps in influence. Other classes of individuals to be included in the settler class range from the titled ranks, a fair sprinkling of anglicized foreigners and their families, old South African pioneers, some Australians and Americans, retired military and naval men, and a small, though influential, class of merchant and trader. A large proportion (in a young colony sense) of the men are married, there being, therefore, quite a fair proportion of women and children. The birth-rate appears rather high and children thrive very well.

The settler, or residential, community, having enjoyed no direct representation in the government or administration, have by force of circumstances, and after years of grumbling and dissatisfaction, attempted a

sort of combination in the shape of local Associations in districts, with a central organization which is termed the Convention of Associations. The nucleus of this political combination some six years ago existed in the Colonists' Association of Nairobi, such popular leaders as Lord Delamere, Frank Watkins, R. Chamberlain, T. A. Wood, and D. Beaton taking prominent part, with S. C. Fichat as Secretary. This became at one time a most effective instrument in dealing with the Government, the committee of the Association meeting regularly and dealing with all the subjects sent up to that body by the country settler and planter, the burning subjects of discussion being principally the land question, native labour, cattle stealing, roads, railways, the Indian question, and, above all, a strenuous demand for a more popular government. In their demands and criticisms of government this settler body met with qualified success. Under the administration of Sir James Hayes Sadler the feeling between the Governor and the settlers became rather strained, and an incident occurred during an attempt to send a deputation to the Governor which nearly had serious results in violent rupture.

Reports of the affair were sent (as usual) to the Colonial Office, and the order came back to suspend Lord Delamere and Mr. A. A. Bailey from their seats (as Government nominees) on the Legislative Council; but this "punishment" was later rescinded, and the nominated members were reinstated; but after a few years' office all the "popular" nominated members resigned, demanding popular election, and until recently the Government could not get a settler to accept the position. But the legislative position in British East Africa will be dealt with later.

Eventually, due to some dissensions, and the complaints forwarded by the district Associations that they were not fully represented in the Colonists' Association, the latter body collapsed, and instead a Convention of Delegates was set up, formed of a certain number of members of each district Association. This institution still remains, though inoperative since the war. At the same time as this change, a still more powerful Association of Landholders was formed, with the object of safeguarding the interests of those holding land from the Crown. For the first time in the history of this associa-

tion-making, material funds were contributed by the members and a proper organizer and secretary obtained from England to develop and transact the business of the Association. This gentleman, Mr. S. Donelly, did some extremely good work and became later also the secretary to the Convention.

We have thus arrived at the stage where, in a study of this novel and latest Protectorate, we have the official element and the settler element; we have now to outline the native and coloured classes of the population, which on the whole are as polyglot as may be found in any place in the world.

The substratum of the population of the Protectorate is the African native. There is said to be contained within the colony's borders some three to four million natives. These are chiefly of Bantu extraction, though considerable tribes are of Arab, Hamitic, or Nilotic mixture. The predominating native tribe at the coast is the Swahili, a racial admixture peculiar to the Zanzibar coast and mainland. The Swahili language has now for many years been adopted as the *lingua franca* of the coast, the Arabs and Indians and the Europeans all affecting it. This

language, in a more or less corrupt form, is now spoken right through the interior as far as the Lakes, side by side with the other native languages, but not ousting them from use. The Swahili is a semi-civilized and semi-orientalized race, mainly Mahommedan, though a considerable number are Christian. As a native the Swahili is quite intelligent; the tribe make good workers and artisans, and monopolize to-day most of the higher vocations of native industry and labour, barter, and personal service. Though met in all parts of the country, the coast lands are eminently the sphere of the Swahili.

Further inland from the coast, north and south of the railway line, other tribes have their locations and countries, for the fuller description and details of which the work of Mr. A. C. Hollis may be recommended. On the road to the Highlands a fairly numerous tribe is established in the Wakamba—natives not very domestically inclined to work and owning a fair amount of cattle. In the Highlands proper are located one of the two most useful tribes of the Protectorate, namely the Kikuyu. This tribe is established all over the European settlement, and large Native Reserves have been main-

tained for them by the Government in some of the richest parts of the country. The Kikuyu may be described as an inferior sort of Zulu or Basuto in industry and physique, but their intelligence approximates very closely to the best tribes in South Africa, if not quite equal to them in apprehension and general quality. Further west and south of the railway line are located the Masai, an erstwhile warlike tribe of Hamitic-Bantu extraction, upright in physique, proud, and a people tamed or domesticated with difficulty. Very few Masai are in general service with the European, the tribal individual and chiefs being rich in cattle, a wealth they well appreciate and decline to part with without great persuasion or need. Masai make good herdsmen, and it is only in this vocation they deign to serve the European at all. Further north and west in the Highlands subsist again other tribes, such as the Nandi and Lumbwa. These are akin in race somewhat to the Masai, though possessing more settled and less nomad characteristics. Where the land gently falls to Lake Victoria in a wide stretch of hot, but fertile country is the home of the Kavirondo tribe. These natives,

like the Kikuyu, are a very numerous people, and probably the most industrious and amenable race of aborigines of them all. They are both agriculturally and pastorally inclined, are keen barterers and traders, appreciate articles of commerce and money. Peculiarly of chaste disposition (as natives go), they are singular in their custom of nakedness; both old and young, male and female, stalking the veld in Nature's array. This custom, however, is not altogether confined to the Kavirondo, nor do these people hesitate to clothe themselves when the spirit moveth, or when ordered to do so by the authorities.

Besides these typical British East African tribes, other outlying races roam the country. The north-eastern regions of the Protectorate are given over to the Gallas and Somalis, with other intermediate tribes. Men of the Somali race roam British East Africa in units and in company, and are keen cattle, sheep, and horse dealers. They are a proud, exclusive lot, and stalk the roads in boots and coats with quite a lordly air, their tall, lithe forms and comely faces stamping them superior to the common tribes of the land.

These broadly delineate the native African races, ruled and administered in true Pax-Britannica form. Taken as a whole, they present a problem more of training and education than of danger to the peace. Since the decadence of the Masai—erstwhile the master robber-tribe, lording it from the coast to the Lake in periodic raids, now too reduced in number to become a factor—no native combination remains which need necessarily be considered seriously as a menace. The Swahili are semi-Asiatics ; the Kikuyu are split into sections and sub-tribes and are by no means homogeneous in polity or disposition. The Kavirondo appear to be eminently peaceful, as, in fact, is their record, though managing to hold their own in the past amid troublous surroundings. The Nandi and Turkhana north, and the Lumbwa south, have shown some turbulence within recent years ; but in such cases of unrest a moderate-sized punitive expedition is all that is demanded ; in fact, the European settlers adjacent to these regions, with a few black troops, could without great difficulty suppress any rising in ordinary prospect.

Missionary enterprise is active among the

tribes—missions of many denominations; but, as in South Africa in past years, the teaching of the native has not made rapid progress. In view of the striking example across the Lake in Uganda, where the missions and their following are great powers in the land among the natives and have a considerable proportion of the Baganda already Christianized (as this term may be regarded), one must come to the conclusion that the lower intellectually developed African native is psychologically and racially antipathetic to "culture." Industrial training is much more successful, and if the exceptions prove the rule (translated liberally), then by the many cases of useful artisan work acquired by the individual native the mass may in time prove industrially possible.

But the main service the natives render to the settlement is in raw labour. The native labour question will be dealt with later in this book, but it may be said here that, just as native labour is imperative for the success of the land's production, so will that labour be the salvation of the native himself, in following the line of least resistance towards his improvement—nay, his

very survival. The native as he stands to-day is regarded by the European of the colony in various lights. A popular cry is to damn him as a lazy, good-for-nothing scum of the earth; but this opinion, so frequently expressed in one or another form of anger, is seldom really intended. Only a small proportion of the European element are negrophobes. It is the fashion to swear at the native, as in England it has been to decry domestic servants as always troublesome. The average European, male and female, know they largely depend upon their native servants for comfort, and few colonists indeed but have their praise for one "boy" or another. And there is a large proportion of employers who, in their candid moments, fully recognize the value and express their sense of appreciation of the native worker. Most Europeans who know their native well, in the main swear *by* him instead of *at* him. He is full of imperfections—but we hope to improve him.

Next in number to the native tribes are placed the Indian community. There are about 20,000 to 30,000 Indians in the colony, of greatly varied grades of consequence and utility. In estimating the political impor-

tance of the Indian, of which we shall have further to say later, their number is of least account as a guide. In the case of the European, the individuals closely approximate in political value, and the same may be said of the tribal natives; in the case of the Indian the greater number consist of coolies, fundis (artisan class), and a ubiquitous class of petty trader, very little removed in status from the other two classes mentioned. Above these in grade come the superior traders, or smaller merchants and importers, and the clerk classes—only the latter commonly speaking English; probably there may be 3,000 or 4,000 of this mercantile grade of Asiatic. At the top of the Indian social scale stand a limited number of big Indian merchants, landowners, and commercial magnates. The larger proportion of these even do not converse in English; a very few are fully conversant with the official tongue of the country. There are one or two, indeed —like Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee—who are in all respects, except their race, religion, and colour, quite European in their method of converse and their knowledge of things. It is important to bear this in mind—the different grades of Indians—when they are

dealt with at a later stage of this study as a political factor and potentiality.

The next coloured class in commercial and industrial evidence to be mentioned are the Goans: these are a mixed race of Indo-Portuguese derivation, and approximate more nearly to the European standard than any of the other races in evidence in British East Africa. They are Catholics, and have many years of civilization (in a Western sense) behind them. Yet, curiously, as a class they do not rise to a high grade in the body economic or politic. Almost all of these Goans in British East Africa speak English more or less fluently, learned in their schools in India. Some are very well educated. The principal spheres they fill in the colony are those of clerks, tailors, and artisans. They divide with the Indian the lower grade industrial sphere; but neither Asiatic worker may compare with the European workman in efficiency. Their labour is cheap—and most people say nasty. But the Goans are very faithful servants, patient, polite, and easily controlled—a most polite and gentle people, if not quite refined. Among the Goans some individuals stand head and shoulders above their com-

patriots ; there are a few really distinguished gentlemen among them. The class also has its high representatives in a few successful trading firms that in the past have made fortunes in the country, though these are now being slowly but surely displaced by the European retailer and merchant.

To complete an ethnological survey of the peoples of British East Africa, one has only now to mention the Arabs and Eurasians. But neither of these sorts of people are very distinctive as a race. The Arabs of the coast (derived from Muscat) merge bodily (so to say) in the Swahili. An inconsiderable number of pure Arabs still remain. Many of the Swahilis call themselves Arabs, on the score of mixed Arab blood. The importance of the Arab community rests in their domination at Zanzibar, where the Sultan is an Arab, and in the control of the Arab and Swahili communities along the coast by means of Liwalis (Arab-Swahili governors or chiefs appointed by the Government). There are also many "Sultans" (so-called) among the Arab and Swahili tribes, self-elected or inherited. There is a similar difficulty in defining any particular Eurasian caste. A Eurasian is

known in British East Africa as a person of mixed European and Indian derivation. Some are not distinguishable from Europeans in appearance, while others merge into the Goan type. They occupy all positions in the social scale, from official and professional to the clerk and artisan. But their number is inconsiderable.

Reviewing the foregoing description, the variety of the peoples populating British East Africa may be realized as quite extraordinary, and unique in any British colony claiming European colonization. This diversity of population—diverse, and one might almost say opposed, in origin, thought, psychological plane, and customs of living—makes the problem of laying the political foundation of this emerging community one of considerable difficulty and intense interest to the student of modern colonial conditions.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINE

In the administration of such a congeries of peoples—a true microcosm of the British Empire — two primary objects should be borne in view, namely, to administer justly and maintain the peace and equilibrium between the races so diversely qualified; and, secondly, to adopt some aim or accepted policy of political objective, and head legislation and public trend of thought in the direction indicated. To achieve these, it is necessary that the land be controlled or governed by a wise and responsible ruler of colonial repute and experience; or otherwise such a personality, with intimate knowledge of East African conditions, should control at the Colonial Office and rule from Downing Street by deputy at Government House. It is not probable that the Ministerial Colonial Secretary for the time being at Downing Street would have this special knowledge, though academically and politically he be

a fully conversant authority on colonial affairs. Even had he a *policy* for British East Africa—which determination has never been publicly announced nor is any concrete policy apparent—it would not be possible to exercise that close influence on the spot which the proper carrying out of an ideal makes imperative. Nowadays one may control and check, but not *govern*, a progressive and growing colony from Downing Street. The permanent official at Downing Street in charge of the East African department of the Colonial Office is in similar case, with the additional disadvantage that he may not initiate or dictate a policy without consultation with his chief. So we come to the conclusion that the fitting man to have a policy and impose it (with the concurrence of the Colonial Office, that with its multifarious activities must welcome efficient instruments of local control) should be the Governor of the colony; for, as we shall shortly show, the supreme power is really vested in him, without the need previously to consult, or fear opposition.

The Governor is the sole official medium of communication with the Colonial Office (as set out by the rules of service), and all

officials and departments report to him. He has official consultation with his heads of departments through the Executive Council, which consists of the Chief Secretary, Treasurer, Attorney-General, sometimes the General Manager of the Uganda Railway, and any other official whom the Governor may recommend. He presides at this Council, and the chance is very remote that on a question of policy he should meet with any serious opposition—if opposition at all—where his views are strongly held. On the other hand, any one of these officials of the Executive, or a group of them, may influence an indifferent or weak Governor in their own direction; but the *esprit de corps* of the Colonial Service, or red tape, as it is sometimes termed, is so rigid and dangerous to the prospects of those who transgress its canons that seldom indeed is there friction. All the laws and legislation of the colony presumably emanate from the Executive Council, and it is nominally in consultation with his officials of the Executive that the Governor exercises his extensive rights of Orders in Council to modify, extend, or interpret the ordinances passed by the Legislative Council.

The Legislative Council, over which the Governor again presides, is the formal machine for the passing of laws and ordinances. As laid down by the constitution of the colony, this Council is formed by a number of officials nominated by the Governor—in fact, the Executive Council again—and a limited minority of nominated civilians. The power of the Governor in Executive Council is again duplicated in the Legislative Council; for his power of nomination of settlers or civilians as unofficial members of the Council ensures the presence of members outside the official service who are *persona grata* to him. This power of nomination has been exercised in the past in a fairly judicious manner; the men appointed, upon whom is bestowed the ephemeral dignity of "Honourable," being prominent men of mild influence, or otherwise safe men, guaranteed not to disturb unduly the official calm of judicious mediocrity which the Legislative Council has commonly exhibited. The one striking exception has been the appointment of Lord Delamere, a settler whose landed position in the colony—whose rank and personal popularity, and also ability—have placed

him in a position which could not well be ignored by the Administration. Lord Delamere has always exhibited an independence of mind and speech which have frequently stirred the wonted official calm into precipitate action. In his discursive manner of treating a subject, he generally raises some point or another which official laxity, or determination to ignore the public wish, has tended to make a measure vulnerable. Some mild attempts of criticism by other non-official members of the Legislative Council have in the past developed; but nowhere has the same independence of speech and action been revealed as in the case of Lord Delamere, for the reason that when these objections have been raised and urged against the official decision, the special support of the official majority has made any such attempt abortive, to the extent that rarely indeed has the opposition been pushed to the vote, and in those cases where a vote has been demanded the official "Ayes" easily have it; though this is generally accomplished with a great show of consideration, and frequently accompanied with a promise to consider the question later with a view to amendment. This policy of refus-

ing the public demands while according them all superficial courtesy became stereotyped under the administration of Sir James Hayes Sadler, whose "sympathetic consideration" reply became a byword among the settlers and is still generally quoted. After the departure of Sir James Hayes Sadler (who was as pleasant and as popular a gentleman socially as he was unfortunate as a Governor), the official response to any demand of its "having sympathetic consideration" has been rigidly avoided.

For the last few years, till quite recently, this semblance of popular representation in the Legislative Council had altogether disappeared; for the members nominated by the Governor to the Council resigned. Attempts were made to appoint two or three other gentlemen in their places, but opinion in the Press and in the Associations was greatly opposed to any settler accepting the position while it bore the present futile character. In the meanwhile, first one and later another address was sent to the Colonial Office and influentially signed, requiring that the popular members on the Legislative Council should be *representative* and not officially *nominated* and appointed.

This natural request has, since the war, by recommendation of the present Governor, Sir H. Conway Belfield, been approved in principle. In view of this official promise, to-day, settler representatives, including Lord Delamere, nominated by the Governor, have resumed their seats in preparation for a measure of popular representation.[1]

The resignations of the popular members from the Legislative Council and the refusal to sit exhibited by the European residents had one exception. That exception was in the case of the member nominated for the coast, Mr. John Wilson. This gentleman elected to retain his seat, despite the popular feeling in the Highlands. His reasons given were these: that he had been appointed by the Government to represent the coast residents' interests, who had expressed no mandate that he should resign. Later, however, Mr. Wilson retired, upon proceeding to take up his residence in England, and Mr. P. H. Clarke was nominated in his place. This gentleman, upon accepting the appointment, formally stipulated that he would

[1] See Appendix I, recommendations made this year by Special Committee of the Legislative Council for popular representation.

resign immediately upon steps being taken to inaugurate popular election, as was then at the time promised by the Governor in the immediate future.

The principal administrative authorities ranking next in importance to the Legislative Council are the heads of the chief departments, such as the Treasury, the Customs, the Railway, Agriculture, the Public Works Department, and the Medical Department. The chiefs of all these departments have from time to time been appointed to the Executive Council according to seniority, being necessary to deliberations, as in the case of constitutional Cabinet Ministers with portfolios. But with these heads there is no such thing as dissent (roundly expressed) or resignation. They are not the peers of the Governor; but his subordinate officials, in office to carry out the policy adopted by the Governor and his chief, the Colonial Secretary, through the Colonial Office. Consequently, by no stretch of imagination or argument could it be maintained that the Executive or Legislative Council, with its official majority, sits as a representative Government, even in a bureaucratic or official sense. In brief, there is no Opposi-

tion—it is a Commander holding counsel with his officers, not a President holding counsel with his party. This situation largely explains the cleavage which has so long persisted between official and settler in political aims and legislation. On the one hand, on top, is a political hierarchy of exotic character; on the other hand is a thriving and eager pioneer community, mostly transplanted from their place of derivation of free government to the local soil of absolutism. On the one hand, among the officials, material welfare and advancement depend upon official billet, or position, or translation to a higher sphere elsewhere, which in the main develops a keen desire to let things remain as they are, so long as a peaceful life may be enjoyed, compatible with interest in the work engaged in. The Provincial and District Commissioners are not there to initiate policies, but to carry out the official programme handed to them officially by the Governor through the Secretariat. On the other hand, the settler, be he merchant or farmer or planter, is always looking for material improvement of his surroundings: he asks a lot from his official rulers; they give him just as much

as may be kept within the set policy laid down, which policy is bound by the revenue arising from industrial development. The Crown Colony administration is imposed to control local development, not to initiate it. Hence the difference between a British Crown Colony rule and a rule by Chartered Company.

By what has been shown, we have a picture of a class of secondary officials governing the country by provinces and districts under the Governor and his Secretariat whose scope for individual zeal and improvement is distinctly limited, a statement which reflects the opinion of many of the Commissioners themselves, when in candid mood. Each Provincial Commissioner governs according to his personality and individual bent. One devotes more attention to the native population, while another will take up roads or agriculture on more decided lines. Reports are sent in to the central Executive and are duly collated into official "blue-books"; but rarely does a Provincial Commissioner stamp his genius on his province in any decided form, not necessarily because he has not the genius or the interest, but necessarily because he

is a simple arm of the central machine and must work with the rest of the machinery, taking his impulse from the centre of action. As some of these provinces are vast in extent, great in variety of natural product, diverse in physical features, and varied in racial population, the circumstance that the local ruler is an official with no independent power of initiative, and himself reports to a Governor, who in his turn reports to the Colonial Office—or, rather, a department in the great Colonial Office at Downing Street—is in itself self-evident that the man on the veld may fume, but cannot *move* this cumbersome machinery without superhuman effort or a dynamic explosion.

These colonial officials are recruited from England, and in almost all cases pass from public schools and the universities to the Civil Service, and thence via the Colonial Office to stations in the Crown Colonies. Though many a sneer is hurled by the hardy and self-made pioneer in colonial regions against the "Public School Boy" type, yet it cannot be seriously denied by the unprejudiced colonial or settler that the British Public School young man is turned out with gentlemanly instincts; he is a fairly, to a

very well educated person, and very frequently is imbued with a high sense of duty and takes himself and his vocation very seriously. He is fine material. But the anomaly still remains that a boyish, insular by experience, young Englishman is sent to foreign parts to deal with and control strange peoples and work in a totally new environment. The native British adaptability to govern under foreign conditions may surmount, on the whole, the difficulties presented in administering an African land seething under a set of elementary forces; but when these strange conditions are again complicated by the superimposition of a complex community of hard-headed old colonists and young and pushing adventurer class, the whole intermixed and interwoven into a polyglot fabric of European, native and Indian peoples, where colour and class clash, then even the minor duties of an Assistant District Commissioner demand some experience of the world outside schoolboy and academic knowledge. The District Commissioners in British East Africa fill the positions as petty magistrates and tax-collectors combined. Petty grievances are brought to them, and at the more impor-

tant stations they occasionally act as District Governors, under the control of the Provincial Commissioner, who fills the status of a provincial governor; consequently, one may fairly decide that the duties of their office call for some legislative, legal, and practical training in a mixed European and native community. The existing system therefore tends always to centralization of real control and real responsibility in the Secretariat and the Governor.

In reviewing these offices we have briefly touched upon the framework of the official hierarchy in a Crown Colony, such as British East Africa. Other governing media are by the police and the courts of law; the customs, immigration officer, and so forth; but all these departments — outside the ordinary independence of the judges—are controlled and have their trend shaped by the personal policy and active personality of the Governor.

CHAPTER VII

THE EUROPEAN SETTLER

HAVING generally reviewed the conformation and origin of the settler class, it is useful, in order to present a fair study of government, to dissect more closely the kind of material the local administration has to handle in the settler population. This closer examination is very necessary if one desires to gain a clearer knowledge of the administrative problem with which the Governor and his Executive are faced.

It has been shown how the "official" class, from the Governor downwards, are recruited from extrinsic material, in the main coming to the colony equipped only with experience of conditions which materially differ from those which they have yet to encounter, armed only with that British official rectitude, and, we must add, that red-tape which stretches from Downing Street to every corner of the Crown Colony sphere. The settler class hails from all parts of

British dominions—from the Mother Country, from South Africa, from Australia, Canada, and elsewhere. Undoubtedly, the body of opinion consists of the two main schools of thought: the Home British pioneer and adventurer (colonial better-class immigrant) type and the British and Dutch South African class. These two "schools" of mode and opinion differ in some particulars among themselves in tradition and custom; but they both unite in a keen sense of individual and political independence and a not disguised antagonism to the red-tape official system of rule. As in all young, virile communities, the ideals and the demands are ambitious. Bringing with them the political freedom of older centres, born of a liberal franchise, they discover themselves legislated for by an official administration in whose policy they are not consulted, and their welfare regarded as on a level with the native tribes, Indians and other subjects of the country, and not essentially from the European standpoint.[1] This condition of the European

[1] As an instance of this, many building and municipal sanitary restrictions, very necessary for the Indian, hamper the British architect, though acknowledged by

settler is rather unique in British East Africa; for though British rule extends to regions such as West Africa, where the native is the groundwork of population, and in India, where the Indian peoples are the great political consideration, and in South Africa, where the European element is the preponderating political factor over the blacks, here in British East Africa the Government is swayed between the clamant demands of the European settlement areas, the control of millions of native tribesmen of various racial origin, and the equally insistent claims of the Indian and Arab peoples. Hence it is that the European colonist has had to urge his status on Government with growing persistence, in order that the administration in its endeavour to do justice to all races loses not its sense of the growing, higher, and really paramount importance of the European element;[1] a class which is not only stable, rooted, and increasing, but which is the spirit of progress upon which all local trade and planting depends, and the real nucleus from which progress is radiating.

the administering authorities to be superfluous with the European.

[1] See Appendix V, p. 244.

Faced with the traditional trend of the Government to administer the colony under equal racial lines; coloured by the Indian policy of the earlier officials who hailed from the East; the settler element, as it took up land and became domesticated in its adopted country under temperate climatic conditions, adopted an offensive-defensive policy, with the resolve to oppose any drift of the Government towards making the colony a dumping-place for the Asiatic. It has taken several years of agitation, turmoil, protest, political combinations and press propaganda before the fact became impressed upon the local administration that the European element had come to stay; that it was flourishing and waxing prosperous, and that it intended to assert itself as the prime and predominant factor in future political development. These conditions have evolved a type of settler who, while outside the real governing machine, is yet determined to influence Government and, in fact, to govern. This movement in a young and immature community has developed leaders in older men of colonial and political experience, and younger blood of local strivings and ambitions. As in British communities

elsewhere, the rank and file among the Europeans are quite satisfied to permit these self-elected leaders and the local Press to do the thinking for them. Interest is awakened at periodic public meetings and at provincial associations' gatherings. Most men are "agin the Government," for the simple reason that hitherto the Government of the country has never yet been either strong or sympathetic—it has been bureaucratic in a kind of weak way, and at times conciliatory in a tactless manner. It has been temporizing and obstinate in turns; yielding with bad grace in a vain endeavour to shape a narrow Colonial Office policy of safety rather than initiate and develop a colonial policy to meet the not necessarily antagonistic views of Home Government and settler. The travelled and broad-minded colonist established in British East Africa is quite ready to recognize the Imperial difficulty in governing such a mixed racial community as in British East Africa, where all are "British subjects"; but this appreciation does not go so far as to ignore or eliminate his sense of the practical need—for the Empire generally, as for his own future welfare—to base the political future

of this fair country on British settlement. A polyglot, mixed racial Government is unthinkable. The Great War of to-day has shown—such as most British colonial communities have always held—that the strength of the Empire, or the Federation of Nations, as General Smuts might term it, rests solidly on the European element — that element which has been the strength of the Motherland and provided the added strength of the colonial fighting and industrial forces oversea. Neither India nor all our coloured peoples combined could have saved us, and this is stated with a full appreciation of the loyal help coming from these sources.

So the sort of British settler that is rooted or committed to British East Africa —whether consciously and actively or unconsciously and passively—has no intention, desire, or ambition to permit the political machine and its trend to become submerged in a weltering sea of mixed races and have his national identity sunk in a fabric of many colours—such as in the case of the nations of South America.

Descending from general public opinion to the thought and characteristics of the individual, the type of settler-thought planted

in British East Africa varies in grade and tradition, just as in a measure thought varies in all other communities. Among the men more prominent in public expression and influence is found that dry, hard-headed class of commercial Britisher, English or Scottish, who, while opposed to the past Government policy, yet remains too cautious and commonplace and satisfied in business to uphold any kind of revolutionary demand on the administration. Leaders of this type have been wisely utilized by the Government as their nominees on public bodies and gained their influence as apologists for Government backwardness, without, however, being converted into admirers of the red-tape system. Then we have the younger, pushing commercial type — younger men who have created vigorous businesses, have married and thrived in the country. These, with worthy ambitions, see careers open to them in the future of a popular Government, and, while having no intention to desert their counters and their offices for political strivings, yet take a very active interest in all communal and political developments. Then there is the better-educated, higher social class of settler, mostly planted on the

land. The highest type of this class is Lord Delamere, who has a popular following second to none in the country. But below the grade of Lord Delamere are a numerous section of younger " Public School men "—settlers of the same class as the officials are recruited from, but very far indeed from the same line of thought on matters political. Men of this type are best seen in their country habitat, at the various provincial gatherings, sales, and meetings; on occasions they invade Nairobi—on festal or business occasions—affecting largely to despise the bourgeois thought and activities of the mere trader of the towns, whose very commercial existence, they bluntly declare (with some good reason), depends upon their patronage. There is an affectation by these landed provincial gentry that " they " are " the country " and the townspeople mere parasites; but in practice any successful movement depends upon the combination of both elements. Other important sections of trend and thought among the settlers planted on the land are the self-made British farmer and planter—men who arrived in the country with small or no means, and either by industrial savings or in trade have possessed

themselves of farms and prospered thereon. Then, again, there is the South African class, a most influential and numerous section, and lastly, in numbers, are the big land and estates companies' managers and employees, people on the whole taking the least part in active politics, due to their duty to their directors on the board in England forbidding active propaganda against the governing authorities.

The industrial classes generally are represented in the Indian, Goan, and coloured population; for most European artisans soon become foremen and master-men in the industrial sphere. This latter section, together with the European employees of the business firms and the larger estates, have their own political bent and aspirations, though little or no real antagonism has developed in the general European ideal of representative government.

The Indian classes may also here be included in a sense in the general term of settler or inhabitant, though the distinction between the British settler and Indian population is a sharp one in the sphere of settlement. While the European is a settler in a true sense, the majority taking permanent abode in the land and making the country their home—a large proportion married and

with growing families—the resident Indian is generally a bird of sojourn or passage. The wealthy Indian invariably repairs to India for long periods, and it is the accepted custom of Indian and Goan employees to regard India as their home, where they intend to return after earning sufficient means to live or earn a competency. As against this, it is also a fact that a large number of the Indian community are continually passing backwards and forwards, and many practically live their lives in the country and have families there. In process of time, no doubt, an indigenous Indian population will finally establish themselves in British East Africa and Uganda, and become as much a part and parcel of Central East Africa as the Malays at Cape Town or as the Arabs at Zanzibar. Hence the need, in shaping the future destiny of British East Africa, to lay down at once some political ideal—either one of European political predominance, based on Western civilization, or adopt the principle of a future great mixed community of an Eastern and Asiatic trend. According as the one policy or the other may prevail, so will the vast native communities develop *their* future.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MISSIONARY

THERE is a section of European activity in East Africa which must be included in our survey of civilizing and colonizing factors, namely, the missionary class. In truth, they may in a sense claim prior right to consideration over the settler; for it is due to the missionary (after the explorer) that we have established ourselves in Uganda and subsequently built the railway, which was the earliest nucleus and provided the backbone upon which the whole settlement became fashioned. It is in Uganda that their greatest triumph (if the present effects of Christianity upon the Baganda may be termed a triumph) is in evidence. Here the missionary—Protestant and Catholic, and, in a measure, the Mohammedan propaganda—has largely influenced and effectually stamped his religion on the Baganda nation, though there remain large sections among the various tribes still

adhering to heathenism. But Uganda is effectually transformed from a savage land of benighted superstition to a country whose people are largely civilized—in a native sense of the term. In the Baganda people the missionary encountered most favourable and tractable material; for, despite the savage history of the nation in the cruel conduct of the past Kings of Uganda, the Baganda natives are Nature's gentlemen and withal of a fine physical type. The other side of the medal exhibits the qualifying fact that immorality and disease have also increased with civilization—if recent records of venereal disease be fair guides. One must not conclude from this that the fault directly rests with missionary teaching. The spread of the white man's vices which proceeds parallel with white man's civilization is not peculiar of Uganda, nor is the cause primarily in the teaching of religion. It comes with the march of civilization in darkest Africa and will have its era until the day arrives that settled civilized conditions take firmer root, with a better understanding by the native of the liberty and also obligations which civilization entails.

The missionary in British East Africa has

not had such a fruitful field as in Uganda. There are many missions and numerous denominations at work. British, French, American, German, and other nationalities are in the field, and the spread of Christianity radiates from numerous local centres in the towns and provinces. The effect, as yet, on the mass of native tribes has not been remarkable, and there still exists that prejudice—or conviction—of the colonist that a good heathen is better than a bad Christian. It certainly takes more than teaching and saying of prayers to make a native a good Christian. Time and mental and psychical evolution must take a hand in the deal. Industry, trade, and handicraft must be summoned to convert a lazy and ignorant heathen into a practical Christian worker. A recent visit to South Africa after many years of absence has shown that the native is open and subject to this process of racial evolution—but it takes time.

Yet there is no doubt that, despite his local detractors among the colonist settlers, the missionary has done good work and is still doing good work. After all, the mere presence of the missionary establishment—the domestic life of the Protestant amid the

teeming native heathen locations and the great industry of the Catholic Missions, which are almost entirely self-supporting—teach an object lesson, if not presenting a too successful religious propaganda, to the native mind and living conditions. There is no useful object to be gained in perpetuating the savage in a progressive community, and European settlement everywhere — lay or church—provides the nucleus from which radiate more civilized conditions and settled industry.

The evils of missionary activity rest on the extremes of the more fanatical votaries. The American Methodist Mission, for instance, has an unenviable notoriety of going to the extreme of teaching equality in the sight of the Deity, to the extent of ignoring practical incongruity in ordinary concourse with their native disciples. There have been distasteful scenes of kissing between the black and white sisters—and brothers (?)—on railway platforms, fondling of black babies, and other practices, no doubt done in the fullness of the missionary heart, but riding full tilt against public opinion on these matters. And the prejudice, or natural objection, of the white man and white

woman against these too familiar practices is based on really sound moral and racial grounds. Even the most zealous churchman of sound mind and intellect would not approve of the racial admixture of the Englishman with the African native, giving origin to a mestizo or mixed "Eurafrican" race, as created in India in the Eurasian class—an unfortunate community which hangs in mid-air (so to say), neither consorting freely with the pure Asiatic nor socially welcomed by the European, though the fringes of this class approximate in colour and mode of living to both extremes. Taking this sociological creation as undesirable between black and white races, surely it is little short of a crime and a sin — a wrong to both races — to encourage too familiar intercourse in touch and sentiment, providing a bridge along which the diluted and perverted stream may travel.

This habit of extreme familiarity is not so prominent among the C.M.S. and the other Protestant and Presbyterian Missions, though still to the extent of being regarded with suspicion and disfavour by the colonists. Perhaps the Roman Catholic Missions are

the least prone to this extreme habit of familiarity, probably due to the greater discipline practised at the mission stations.

When missionary work goes hand in hand with the teaching and training of industry—the one cult regarded almost of the same importance as the other—then mission work reaches its highest sphere of practical usefulness. Most experienced missionaries in their candid moments admit that the teaching of the Gospel to a raw savage—taken old or young—is the merest veneer of religion. In some cases this outward veneer has all the appearance of the real thing; in most cases the veneer is so thin that the ignorant savage soul peeps through in all directions; in extremely rare cases has the teaching of religion to the savage created a Christian of a pure type.

On the other hand, the teaching of handicraft and industry provides a sound groundwork for the later perfection of the civilized understanding. A skilled native servant or workman gets the environment of European methods of thought and action and becomes better equipped in brain power to grasp the superficial, if not the inner, meaning of European psychology and spiritual trend.

It is among the older class of experienced native servants that the voluntary seeking for education and enlightenment is the more discernible. Many an old heathen servant (accustomed to service and not necessarily old in years) acquires voluntarily by manuals and a brother's teaching a knowledge of English reading and of the Bible, later to gravitate to the mission teaching school. Though most rarely by these means is a civilized Christian properly made, yet the spirit of civilization is gained, and in the course of generations the fixed native Christian type may become evolved.

Of the mission natives, caught while young and taught at the mission schools and churches, a very small proportion exhibit in adult life useful traces of the trouble taken with them. One continually and consistently hears it said by the settler and colonist that the mission native is worthless and worse than worthless. This opinion, we think, is largely based on prejudice; for the Christian native, due to his superior needs and scarcely higher earning capacity, becomes mostly a bore and a nuisance to the employer, while the mere savage, with less needs, is quite a rival of the mission boy

in ordinary working intelligence. Whether this prejudice against the " missionary boy " would exist were the selection to be reversed, and the mission seek the intelligent working native and endeavour to make a Christian of him, instead of taking the kraal native and piccaninny, is a point worth considering ; but this would spell mere " slumming " again, just as the town missions do in large cities in enticing the rough submerged into a better life ! In any case, whether the accepted mode of missionary procedure in working among the kraal natives be the better way or not, it is certain that in British East Africa, and Africa generally, the first stage of a native convert should be the inculcation of steady work and industry—the dogma, the ritual, and the psalm-singing to follow.

There is one aspect of missionary activity against which no criticism may be directed, namely, the medical department of each mission station. The apotheosis of the healing art for the benefit of the native is seen in Uganda at the Drs. Cook C.M.S. Namirembe Hospital at Kampala, Uganda. This is a remarkable place, run and conducted by remarkable men. The Drs. Cook—for

there are three of them at work—preside over a great, splendidly equipped hospital, which has proved a veritable haven of cure for the black sufferer from disease. The boon has spread even to the extent of becoming a Mecca for suffering Europeans in East Africa, though the main activity is among the Baganda. To a lesser degree each properly equipped mission station has its surgery, with professional or empirical doctor in charge. Here, in this direction alone, if in no other, have the missions justified their existence.

CHAPTER IX

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

In South Africa, as in most of the African colonies where white settlement impinges upon native habitation, the problem of a satisfactory native policy is an acute one. In British East Africa the relations between black and white have not as yet acquired that very complex character of older settlements. Here we have this problem still in the melting-pot and not yet precipitated into a difficult and complex proposition. The native tribes and populations have scarcely emerged from their original state of tribal life in their own domains, and have been very little disturbed by the Government; and it is only quite recently, since the European War, that any organized coercive measures have been taken to utilize their labour, and this only for military needs. A settled policy of native control with an eye to the future of the colony has appar-

ently not yet been formulated or seriously considered. The principle at present seems to be to preserve tribal control by recognized headmen, and in some instances by paramount chiefs, thus tending to perpetuate native customs, native law, and native land reserves. This governing along the lines of least resistance and with the minimum of interference and control may be a wise policy in regions such as Basutoland, Uganda, and some of the West African native kingdoms, where either the white man cannot take root in full settlement, due to climatical disadvantages, or where, like Basutoland and Uganda, the native country is crowded and occupied by a progressive native race, inclined to take naturally to agriculture or pastoral pursuits, leaving little room for serious European domestic settlement. But in British East Africa the tribes contained in the Reserves are racially unprogressive; not far removed, as an economic factor, from the wild game which are also preserved in similar Reserves. And these unprogressive tribes occupy country which teems with natural wealth of soil and fine pasturage, whose quality is almost entirely wasted in the hands of these aborigines.

The Kikuyu tribe, the most important of the native tribes in British East Africa, occupies one of the most fruitful tracts of country in the colony, extending, with some breaks, over a hundred miles north of the Uganda railway line, and adjoining it, extending, practically, from Nairobi to Mount Kenia. These Reserves contain great tracts of most valuable and fruitful soil, which are only utilized by the native in mere patches by scratching the surface. The capital value of this land is enormous: the economic products of the area under native occupation is a negligible quantity. A small mealie and potato patch feeds a family, and only the scanty overplus after the family's modest requirements are satisfied comes into the market. One European farmer will raise on a thousand-acre farm more mealies than produced on as many square miles of native-owned land. Were this translated into coffee or fibre or flax, then the difference in value would be enormously greater. In consequence, if industrial prosperity, with all the benefits it brings, be the aim of government, to leave these great fruitful tracts of government-owned land in the possession of an unprogres-

sive race is directly against the common good.

Postulating, for the sake of argument, that the principle of government is to utilize to the utmost the productive resources of a land—which gospel has been so strikingly learnt in the conduct of the Great War—to the extent of State control and State appropriation—then a case is made out for a more enlightened utilization of these rich agricultural and pastoral lands in the occupation of the primitive native (useless in the sense of self-help, racial tradition, and initiative in production). The other side of the argument is that which will be naturally advanced by the lover of abstract justice and the convinced negrophile, that it is wrong and an injustice to deprive the native tribes of their old (though not ancient !) hunting and dwelling lands. When the Protectorate first came under Imperial control, certain occupied tracts were outlined for exclusive native purposes, and this was done without consideration (at the time) of what the future of the Protectorate might develop, there being little or no conception in the official mind then, that here, on the Equator, any serious European residence or coloniza-

tion proper would be possible. It would have demanded the imagination and genius of a Cecil Rhodes to foresee thus far. Consequently, there was no eye to the economic value of some of the richest soil in the world, to be traversed by a trunk railway line, nor thought of a later condition demanding a fuller utilization of this fruitful country than leaving a race of savages to roam it in idleness. Probably an American or colonial administration would have seen further than the trained British official in this respect. And abstract justice is not the monopoly of the Home citizen!

But the position has to be faced to-day, and very difficult the problem is; for the natives have now a prescriptive right to the soil, laid down by precedent, though the actual ownership is still vested in Government. A way out was found in one instance by the one strong Governor the colony has possessed —Sir Percy Girouard. In order to carry out certain promises made by Government to a body of settlers, a section of the Masai tribe who were in occupation of a fine tract of pasturage land north of the railway line on the Laikipia Plateau were persuaded to migrate to extensive lands south of the

line, not so suitable for European settlement. The Masai are a diminishing pastoral and nomad tribe whose wealth consists entirely of cattle, but whose utility in other respects is negligible. This transfer, though effected with tribal consent, led to a deal of trouble and a tribal lawsuit in the courts; but the act of the Administration was upheld. Whether injustice could be claimed in the removal or not, the effect has been to free a rich tract of country for European occupation, upon whose pastures grade and thoroughbred cattle can be raised, instead of leaving the country practically fallow and unutilized—the scattered Masai herds producing a much smaller and inferior stock than that which the European farmer raises on the same pasture. The Masai also are extremely reluctant to dispose of or barter the overplus of their cattle increase; for the nomad's personal needs are practically nil and the tribesmen do little or no cultivation. The great benefit to the country of this transfer is unquestionable.

While little may be urged in favour of the Masai—whose whole past history is one of robbery and rapine—the case of the Kikuyu tribes is different; for though the Kikuyu

in his reserve is a useless member of the political and industrial community, when he migrates *out of his reserve,* as these people do freely, he provides the backbone of native labour to the Highlands. Hence, apart from the justice of the tribal claim to their Reserves, it is also necessary for the welfare of the colony that this reservoir of labour shall not be affected. But if British East Africa is to have free development as a wealth producer and become a pillar of strength to the Empire—such as its natural riches and prospects of European colonizing development promise—then the native squatter or roamer in the Kikuyu Reserve adjacent the railway line, occupying a particularly valuable and healthy tract of cultivable soil, should be translated further back to land more in keeping with his scrappy needs; and this can be done without affecting his material or physical welfare or individual requirements for space and increase. The whole question demands the labours of a Government Commission, after a careful survey of the land at present occupied by the Kikuyu tribe. And similar measures may well be taken with the Lumbwa and the Sotik and the Kavirondo tribes further west.

The system of native administration as it exists to-day is purely elementary and along the lines of least resistance. The aim of Government is to disturb existing conditions as little as possible, collect the hut-and-poll tax in the most convenient form, and let the future bring its own solution. At the time of writing an ordinance had been submitted to the Legislative Council, mainly the work of Mr. J. Ainsworth, C.M.G., an old, experienced official, taking deep interest in native affairs. The Squatters' Ordinance (as it is shortly termed) seeks to make provision for checking native emigration from the Reserves, and also to prevent what is known as "Kaffir farming," namely, landowners permitting natives to squat on farms for the special object of enabling the owner to live on the rents derived from native tenants. No evidence has been produced that this unprogressive and much-condemned practice is common, nor has any abuse of the native tenant principle been shown. The settler and landowner elements are all opposed to such practices, and that portion of the Bill which forbids kaffir farming has met with general approval; but the measure has been strenuously opposed

in its tendency—if not intention—to restrict *bona fide* labour on the farms. The principle apparently aimed at by Mr. Ainsworth, and the Government supporting the Bill, is to perpetuate and control these large native Reserves in watertight compartments; on the other hand, it is to the interest of the European farming and industrial communities to facilitate emigrant labour from these Reserves on to the increasing plantations and feed the growing labour demand in the towns and settlements.[1] While the Government policy seems to be to govern and control the natives as they reside and live at the present time—accepting the establishment of these large Reserves as immutable—the settler classes, with an eye to the future, would have the natives yearly more accustomed to seek work and influence them to take a permanent place as an industrial unit in the body economic.

From an economic standpoint there is no question of the relative producing value of a native *within* his Reserve against the same native working as a farm labourer or artisan

[1] See Appendix II, pp. 203, 214, etc., evidence given by settlers of the need of limiting Reserves and encouraging the natives to settle on the farms.

outside, under a European employer. He earns more for himself by the latter process and assists materially in the development of the country; and he pays the hut-and-poll tax in either case of residence. The ideal policy seems to indicate a middle course, one which would preserve a reasonable and adequate area for the existing tribes on land sufficient for their needs, and at the same time give every encouragement, and devise a system, to the end of inculcating industry and steady labour among them. Such a policy might well be adopted, and is not incompatible with reclaiming certain portions of the rich agricultural lands adjacent to the railway line for European occupation. The case, put bluntly, is: Whether the right policy be for Government to preserve the native and passively encourage his indolence and lotus-like vegetable life in the Reserves, as obtains to-day, or whether the more correct and statesmanlike course be actively to organize and train him by progressive development into an efficient worker—as labourer, artisan, even as clerk and teacher. Portions of the large revenue derived directly from native sources should be allocated permanently

to the establishment of industrial schools and colonies within these necessary Reserves.

Though the ultimate intellectual growth of the African native be an uncertain question, yet to act fairly towards the native tribes, reasonable facilities should be provided him by Government to climb the social and industrial ladder as far as his mental powers will carry him.

Tribal rule is, in large measure, upheld by Government. Headmen are maintained in their authority and native or tribal law is recognized by the British official. This throws and perpetuates great power in the hands of these headmen—for there are but a few big chiefs, and these are not kings in the same sense as obtains in Uganda and originally existed in Zululand, Swaziland, and Matabeleland; and their power for harm transcends their power for good over their subjects. Bribery, favouritism, and oppression are said to be still rife among them, and the native tribesman fatalist rarely protests against any act of his chief or headman; he simply suffers. Government authority is maintained by means of District Commissioners, who fill the offices of petty magistrate and native commissioner com-

bined. Cases tried by the headmen, chiefs, or elders have to be recorded in writing, which is supposed to be done by some literate native maintained for the purpose. Naturally, under these elementary conditions of check and control a deal goes on which is never brought to the notice of the District Commissioner. Every native has a right to appeal to the District Commissioner, which if exercised in all cases of grievance would keep him busy indeed, as the districts controlled embrace very great areas. While it seems impossible with the present means to bring the natives closer under European control, it is perfectly clear that under these elementary governing conditions a deal of crime happens in the Reserves which never comes before the local official, though high criminal cases be nominally reserved for European jurisdiction.

CHAPTER X

THE LAND QUESTION

EVERY British colony has undergone its acute stages of the land question—if this question may not be said to be always present in every community. British East Africa being young, it were almost needless to add that the existing land laws are far from being considered satisfactory or accepted as final.

Here, on this vital question towards successful colonization, the Government ideal has materially clashed with that of the people. At the earliest day of colonization, when the prospect of serious European settlement seemed small in this tropical area, the Administration was only too anxious for the individual to take up tracts of this country "going a-begging." It was during these earlier times that big concessions and domains were granted to certain lucky individuals and companies. Both European and Indian became possessors of most valuable

land (at present prices) for a mere song or peppercorn rent. As the community grew and a real demand sprang up for town plots and farm-holdings, the governing powers beheld things in better perspective, and the tendency of land title went off at a tangent from nominal terms to exceedingly onerous conditions of occupation and rental. Freehold title was withdrawn, except to limited areas in farm-holdings, and a land law was framed by a government-controlled Legislative Council which limited all leasehold land to ninety-nine years, and a wise Colonial Secretary at Downing Street—Lord Elgin — became so obsessed with the idea of the Government retaining an interest in the land, that it was laid down that a surcharge of rental should be made at the expiration of thirty-three and sixty-six years of each lease. Such a limited title to land met with no favour among the settlers. As an old chronicler has it, "Trees do not grow on leaseholds"—meaning in England that no one plants trees on land (or permanent improvement for posterity to enjoy) when the title of ownership is limited to two generations. The criticism against the thirty-three and

sixty-six year increase of rental (based on valuation) was threefold: first, objection was taken against the penalization of enterprise and capital which such added rental connoted; secondly, the banks were shy of advancing money on land which had no permanent rent laid down in the title-deeds; and thirdly, it was contended that the wisdom of the whole prospective tax on land may be questioned, in that land may at any time be taxed by Government, either by assessment or by way of revenue or income derived, without this sword of Damocles held over a puzzled lessee or tenant. As the proceeds of such a tax, when the period arrives for its collection, would naturally be added to the general revenue of the country, and might be in excess of requirement, insufficient, or against the policy of the Government then in power, the distant promise of added revenue becomes altogether problematical, while the ill effect on title has been immediate. Such a prospective tax benefits nobody to-day, and might be abolished at any time in the future. Protests were registered by the settlers against this land law, and ultimately, in 1914, a new land law was intro-

duced in the Legislative Council, which granted the landowner outside the townships a title extended to 999 years, but the Colonial Office declined to amend the prospective thirty-three and sixty-six years revaluation clause. The people to-day are demanding a clear title to land without future suppositional surtaxes. But freehold is still the ideal, either by composition of the leasehold values or by free grant or conversion.

The Government urge against freehold tenure that absolute ownership vested in the possessor would abolish the restriction, stated in the leases of property in the Highlands, that no transfer of title may be effected to a non-European, thus preserving European settlement in the colonizable area. This, undoubtedly, was a wise provision; but in practice, though a considerable amount of freehold land is held, there seems to be no tendency for the Indian to purchase, or the Europeans to sell to Indians, agricultural holdings. The moneyed Indian class in British East Africa are almost entirely traders, and not farmers; besides which, the power of veto of transfer by the Land Office may always be retained for Government, in order to preserve the safeguard laid down.

In the case of town plots, all land, with few exceptions, is leasehold—held for ninety-nine years. This comparatively limited tenure perpetuates in British East Africa the old evil in England, where the ground landlord has a vested interest in building development, and where whole blocks of buildings fall into gradual decay as the period draws near for the ground landlord to take possession. That the superior landlord in the case of British East Africa be the Government itself does not appear to alter this evil. There can be little doubt that long before these leases fall in some change will be made to avoid the wholesale confiscation of private property, namely, by the right to convert to freehold. Why this step should be delayed or deferred—in whose interest this short lease is maintained—is not easily discernible.

The earlier Nairobi town plots sold by Government were small in area, namely, 50 feet frontage by 75 feet in depth. Later, this dimension was increased to 75 by 150 feet. These smaller plots in Government Road leave little room for the expansion of business premises, which fact came later with added force of realization to the owners

when narrow limitations of height were promulgated, and even an order at one time issued (now apparently abandoned) that only two-thirds of even this small area might be built upon. Yet, despite these disadvantages, the price of plots on the leading thoroughfare has steadily risen. To-day these plots—a few only being yet unbuilt upon—realize up to £3,000 : rather a record in values in a town of such inconsiderable size as Nairobi. The town of Nairobi is yet in the making, and a large number of valuable business sites still remain unsold by Government.

In the matter of building, the Government has always lagged behind private enterprise. For years the government buildings in town were of a poor, even mean description, and when the merchants and storekeepers had already erected for themselves very respectable stone premises—some of them double-storied—the government buildings still remained mere wood-and-iron shanties. With one or two exceptions this disparity remains to-day. This neglect of Government in providing suitable housing for its departments has been set down to its merit, in that (it is urged) the Administration cannot afford to spend

the money; the revenue being required for more useful purposes. This poverty of show has, however, been maintained to such an extent that the very Court House in which the High Court sits was built by and is leased from an Indian, while the one so-called public market also belongs to the same Indian gentleman, Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee.

There are those, however, who discern in this backwardness not a worthy sense of economy in expenditure, but a striking instance and symptom of the lack of appreciation of successive Administrations of the needs of the communities and growth of the colony. The European settlement was never taken seriously, and while thousands of pounds of revenue have been spent annually in salaries of officials, civil administration, and in other departments—all, no doubt, very necessary and still very insistent—yet it is doubtful if these many years of expenditure should not have provided public offices for the administration at least equal to its needs, and also at least as far advanced as the housing of the commercial houses, the greater number of which have built larger premises, as commerce extended, in order to accommodate their own growing needs.

Even those buildings erected by Government of a substantial character more recently have proved totally inadequate to the demand made upon them, notably the General Post Office, which is to-day sometimes crowded to the ceiling when a big English parcel mail arrives, and the staff are sadly overcrowded. The finest building in the place is Government House, built "far from the madding crowd," about a mile from the centre of the town on the Hill. Here, for lack of other accommodation, the Legislative Council generally sits, with the result that none of the public may conveniently attend its deliberations, not only because of its distance from the town proper, but also for the reason that it is really the private residence of His Excellency. The Secretariat, the central office of administration, is to-day housed in a low series of wood and iron buildings cut out of the side of the Hill, and away from the precincts of the business or residential quarters. These conditions exhibit to the student of colonization the lack of high purpose and leadership in past administrations. The enterprise of the colony is undoubtedly that of the settler, and very small initiative has come from Government.

The suburban sites of Nairobi have been leased out in larger areas than in the case of the business portion. Three, four and five acre plots are common. A regulation forbids the building on these plots to exceed a third of the total area, this provision having been enforced with a view to general air-space and sanitation. But here again the long view has not been taken. Acres of ground cannot be kept free from weeds or planted as gardens without considerable expense to the owner or occupier. Another drawback to this "sumptuary law" is the artificial maintenance of high rents; for, as time goes on, the value of these suburban sites grows so that a poor man—and most of the residents are not wealthy people—finds it difficult to purchase the land, build his own house, and become his own landlord. The result is that the land is apt to fall into few hands of the landlord class, having the means to purchase building sites and build for letting. With this restriction of the one house on a two or three acre plot abolished, more dwelling-houses would be put up adjacent to the town, and even the later tendency to reduce the building space to one house on one acre, in one or two localities,

will have to go further if the employee and small trader class are to have the opportunity to purchase their own domicile.

Building sites in the suburbs range from £80 to £200 per acre, a very large amount to invest on a building site for a poor man in a very young colony.

At Mombasa, the port, these high values of building sites go even further, for the land is restricted, as yet, to the small island upon which the town is built. Probably in time the town at the coast will spread over to the mainland. But the same lack of foresight of successive administrations is discernible in shaping the town's trend of growth. Mombasa, from an aspect of town-planning science, is in a most chaotic condition. The ancient town was originally of a typically Eastern type, with extremely narrow streets and lanes intersecting the buildings in all directions, and a large Arab, Indian, and native population seething in the back lanes. Into this crowded area came the bigger coast firms, making confusion worse confounded. Later, the Mombasa harbour proper was found to be impossible for the sea-borne traffic, the narrow streets coming right down to the

water's edge up against the Custom House. So Kilidini port was established, and the principal steamers calling at the port discharged their cargo at the newer creation. But Kilidini lies some two or three miles from the town proper (though still on the same island), and in later years the Government were compelled to lay out godown plots adjacent to the wharf. This diversion has influenced some of the leading shipping houses to erect substantial buildings near the more modern port; so that really there are three main centres of business on the island, divided materially from one another—the one at Kilidini, the other by the railway station and post office, and the third at old Mombasa, with its still frequented port, its separate Custom House, and the Mombasa Club, which last-named building is a much frequented attraction. A new-comer to-day, desiring to open business premises, would find it difficult to decide upon which area to locate himself. There is a strong likelihood in the future that the whole of the island—which is only divided from the mainland by a shallow channel of sea, over which the railway bridge is carried—will be built upon, and upon that probability (almost

a certainty) the fortunate holders of Mombasa land are trading, and values are high.

No doubt in the past it has been difficult to tackle the Mombasa port and township problem, vested interests and ancient and rooted custom presenting barriers to any town-planning; but if this be true, it is also inevitable that some clear policy of town arrangement will have to be taken in hand—to-day or in the near future. Mombasa shares with Nairobi the evils of an unsophisticated, inexperienced past Administration; none of the past controllers of colonial establishment in British East Africa having been men versed in European settlement in a young country, or with imagination enough to perceive more than what lay before them contemporaneously.[1] The earlier Land Commissioners came from India and the East, with inherited Eastern ideas of the development of a pioneer region. How differently would the colony have fared had an experienced colonial official from a European area been appointed to outline land and settlement policy immediately after it was seen that European settlement had come to stay and to flourish!

[1] See Appendix VI, p. 246.

CHAPTER XI

SOME LEADING INSTITUTIONS

By far the most prominent Government institution or department in the country is the Uganda Railway. This department takes precedence due to its early and ever-increasing importance as the trade of the colony increased and expanded; the great amount annually received from its sources and expended on its maintenance; and for its close connection with the common life of the community. This prime importance was so much recognized in the past that until a few years ago the General Manager of the Railway was the best paid official next the Governor, and ranked in an independent position in his relation to the Administration; for he reported direct to the Colonial Office, and the affairs of the railway were excluded from the common administrative reports of the country and from the budget. Subsequently, this quasi-independence was changed into the ordinary

system of bringing the railway administration under the common control of the Governor, as in the case of other government departments.

The Uganda Railway starts at Mombasa, the port, climbs the Highlands to Nairobi, the capital (327 miles distant), and after traversing various altitudes, up to 8,320 feet, descends to Lake Victoria (3,660 feet); the railway system then crosses the Lake by means of a steamer service, continuing by rail again at Jinja, under the divisional control of the Busoga Railway, until it reaches Lake Chioga, where again a steamboat service feeds the line, bringing produce from the Nile cotton regions. It is along this railway line that the activity and growth of the colony is most in evidence. Two branch lines have later been constructed, the one to the Thika—a rich coffee, fibre, and trading centre—which may be said to be the beginning of a northern line to Mount Kenia—and the other built since the war, due to military exigency, which branches off at Voi (about 100 miles from the coast) south to Taveta, providing a junction between the Uganda Railway system and the Tanga Railway of the northern German East Africa trunk line.

The Uganda Railway was constructed by the Imperial Government at a cost of £5,331,000, and was primarily intended to open up Uganda; hence the misnomer of "The Uganda Railway" to a line which never reaches Uganda, though in the earlier times the British East province of Nyanza, east of the Lake Victoria, was included in the Uganda Protectorate. There was no serious European settlement when the Uganda Railway was first built, and there is no evidence to show that the Imperial statesmen of the day had any such possibility in their minds. The line was built as a strategic line for better communication with Uganda and the Lake region, where our missionaries were established, and to open up generally the trade of the interior. The great agricultural riches of British East Africa—though spoken of by many of the earlier explorers and travellers, who remarked on the possibility of European settlement in these upland and temperate regions—were not in those early days appreciated—a typical instance of British supineness and lack of appreciation of the importance of British settlement within the Empire. After the railway was built, settlement

followed; but without Government direction or encouragement. For many years the finances of the railway showed a deficit on working, which (together with the interest on capital expended) was met out of Imperial funds. During these years not a thought appears to have been given by our statesmen to the possibility, by encouragement of enterprise and immigration, of making this Imperial asset a paying proposition. The short brochure on the subject, obtained by application from the Colonial Office, gave very cautious information about the place, and laid rather greater stress on malaria and its preventatives than on the large healthy areas where malaria is extremely rare and the climate unrivalled. There was no inducement or invitation towards settlement. But, following the general principle of British colonization, the individual found his way to the upland regions, and the railway soon started to pay its way. To-day the Uganda Railway makes a profit on working to the extent of £180,600 per annum (1914–15), and since the war, £287,300 (1915-16). This profit, however, does not include the interest on capital outlay; but the scope of the line has only

quite recently become materially exploited. Even with its rapid growth it has not been for years in the past, nor is it to-day, able to cope successfully with the trade offered it. Traffic has been growing yearly in excess of the means to carry it, and just before the war Sir Percy Girouard managed to impress the growing needs of the colony on the Imperial Government to the extent that an Imperial guaranteed loan was granted for railway and other development, which sum has not yet been expended. A leading factor towards the grant of this loan was the pending working of the soda deposits at Magadi, to which a branch line has recently been built, financed by the Magadi Soda Company. At the outbreak of war this line was just completed and was ready to be handed over to the owners by Messrs. Pauling & Co., the contractors; but the war stopped all operations, for the Magadi Soda Lake is situated near the German border, and work had to be abandoned, though some huge machinery for the working had already been landed and installed. What with the greatly increasing traffic of the country produce, such as coffee, fibre, and beans, and the still greater volume of freight

coming from Uganda in cotton, the prospects of the railway line are considerable, and this takes no account of the further traffic to be derived when further projected feeder-lines are constructed.

One of the most important of these is the projected branch line from Nakuru (situated about midway between Nairobi and Kisumu, the port on the Lake) to Uasin Gishu, a very important settlement north of the railway line and about 100 miles distant from it. This branch feeder-line, already surveyed and awaiting construction, but held up due to the war, bisects the rich Upper Molo Valley, a great mealie-producing country, and climbs the escarpment which divides the high Uasin Gishu Plateau from the Rift Valley. The plateau has a big agricultural future before it, being very healthy and suitable for both cattle raising and planting; notably wheat, mealies, coffee, linseed and flax.

Another further objective of the Uganda Railway is the Congo Free State, the high and healthy uplands of Kilo—where some of the richest gold-mines in the world are situated and being worked by the Belgians as a government-controlled preserve. This

eastern portion of the Congo State borders Uganda, and already considerable traffic comes through from Mombasa, via the Uganda Railway, to serve these distant Lake regions. Travellers affirm that this portion of the Congo has a big future before it in European settlement, both in mining and agriculture.

So it is seen that the potentiality of the Uganda Railway is vastly greater than its actuality to-day, and bids fair to prove a considerable Imperial asset; for there is scarcely a limit to the productive growth of these highland tropical regions.

Unfortunately, the control and development of this railway line have never been treated in proper perspective. As a Colonial Office adjunct, the aim of the past management has been to wipe out the annual deficit of its working. All other considerations were subsidiary to this single purpose. The line should really have been regarded as a capital outlay, the immediate revenue subsidiary to the aim of increasing the general revenue of the Protectorate. The two purposes are really identical, for both sources of revenue go to-day to the common fund of the colony. But if the tariff on the line

is too high for profitable production and kills a struggling industry, then, though the railway pays, the colony suffers. Few Government railways are more successful and more profitable than the Union railways of South Africa, yet few railways grant equal facilities for the carriage of up-country produce to the port. The railway tariff in South Africa is governed by a common industrial policy, which imposes a stiff rate on those industries and general traffic which can pay the higher tariff, while reducing to a minimum and to a flat rate those products, such as mealies, which are of common production and which have a ready market oversea. Mealies, for instance, are carried from any part of the Union to any port of the Union at the low rate of one shilling per bag, irrespective of distance.

Though the Uganda Railway has made one or two efforts in similar direction—notably in the case of cotton from Uganda—no general policy seems to have been laid down having the main object in view to encourage the farmer and planter. The cost of carriage and hauling has been worked out to a fine point, with the primary object of making the railway pay, which object

has been well achieved. Whether a broader consideration, having the aim of cherishing and promoting the welfare of the settlement, be not a wiser policy, may well deserve consideration. The Uganda Railway tariff should be governed by two important considerations: primarily, the recovery of actual cost of haulage, and, secondly, the advantage to the country in encouraging industry. Many thousands of acres of black wattle have been planted by farmers up country, but due to the cost of carriage the trees remain unstripped of their valuable bark and are being used as mere firewood. In such a case of a low-priced product (taking this as an example), a few thousands of pounds sacrifice by the railway might bring many thousands of pounds profit to the planter—and the individual makes the country. The case of black wattle is mentioned as a mere existing illustration, and without particular regard to the claims of that special industry.

That the accommodation on the Uganda Railway has still far to go in comparison with other colonial railways is very patent to travellers. The policy dictating the management of the railway has taken kindred direction to the general policy of the colonial

administration. The aim generally has been the conservative one of trying to make the institution pay in a narrow sense of economy, and under existing and contemporary conditions. It is when unbusinesslike men attempt to run an enterprise under strictly business principles that broad failure results, though a limited success be attained. In the past, little endeavour has been made by the railway to satisfy its clients or the country it is supposed to serve. Working a monopoly; being a law unto itself; remedies, redress, and responsibility as a public carrier have all been steadily ignored. No responsibility for damage of goods, or undue delay, or for an efficient service, has been shouldered. The Uganda Railway is a government department, controlled by a government-elected Legislature, with the general manager a legislative member, and the public unrepresented except by government nominees. Such a position can well be realized in practice. But on the other side, due to the increasing trade and growing influence of the settler on government policy, the railway management is to-day showing increasing signs of studying public interest as well as its own railway interest. The

late Mr. Stanley, the Traffic Manager, whose sudden and recent death the colony deeply deplored, was a most courteous individual, and always ready to meet the views of the community expressed through the Chambers of Commerce. The present General Manager, the Hon. Mr. B. Eastwood, is an experienced railway official, grown old in Uganda Railway service, and most zealously attached to his work. Born in a school of railway and government conservatism, and always with the best interests of the railway at heart, no steadier hand could control the destinies of this important line; but if the *country's* interests were taken a little more to heart, and a narrow *railway* policy a little less, then he would accomplish bigger things.

Though the journey to the Lake takes nearly two days' travelling, there is no decent sleeping accommodation provided. Every traveller has to carry his own bedding. There is no refreshment car; the light in the carriages has been for years so bad that reading is impossible; and many other practical improvements might be indicated. The delays at stations are numerous, due mostly to the baboo Indian stationmasters employed. Still, improvement is in the air,

and taking everything into consideration, it cannot be stated that the line is inefficiently run. It is the life of the colony, and the railway people know it—and rather take advantage of it!

Another department which has really done yeoman service to the community, and for which the successive administrations may take praise, is the Agricultural Department. In this case (perhaps alone) has a real and whole endeavour been made to assist European settlement. The stock farm at Morendat, Naivasha, has been of inestimable service to the community, in the importation of blood stock and the grading up of the native herds to high excellence, and the annual sale to settlers of the grade stock; though even in this case private enterprise has also done a deal of good, notably in the case of Lord Delamere's stock farms, the noble lord himself being a direct importer and breeder, and others have been following his footsteps.

This Department has been for years under the direction of the Hon. Mr. A. C. Macdonald, who has been a notable success in his work and also in his intercourse with the settler. Curiously, and bearing out our

general thesis, Mr. Macdonald is the one departmental official who may boast of previous British colonial experience, coming from South Africa. Respected by both official and settler classes, his department has suffered the least criticism of any, though it is his department alone which comes entirely into contact with the settler.

The various government departments have been lightly dealt with in a previous chapter, and only the more striking (though not necessarily the most important) of British East Africa institutions are here particularized.

The Convention of Associations, though dormant since the war, is a body which deserves particular mention, due to its rôle of postulating as a People's Parliament where no popular legislative institutions are established. The Convention has no fixed residence or construction, being a simple assembly of the deputies elected from time to time by the provincial associations sitting as a central body, and has been an outcome of the people's resolve to be heard—within or without the legislative chambers. Now popular elective representation is promised, if this necessary concession be properly

carried out there will be in ordinary course no further assembly of the Convention; but its creation is of interest in a British colony deprived of the vote—and the confidence—of the people. No doubt, if this elective representation be honestly and properly carried out, the Convention will die a natural death; but should any attempt be made to counter the public wishes in this direction, this informal, yet effective, machinery expressing the public voice will reassemble again.

The Chambers of Commerce, established at Mombasa, Nairobi, Kisumu, and Kampala, have their regular sittings and exercise more or less influence on the Government, according to their individual activity and capacity. The Chambers are almost entirely European in composition, though Indian firms are welcome to membership. Only two or three Indian members attend any meetings of the Chambers.

In addition to these non-official public institutions, the various planters of economic products have their separate associations, in order to safeguard trade interests, such as the Coffee Planters', the Mealie Growers,

and Coast Planters' Associations. These, again, exert their influence either on the Convention (when it sits), directly on the Government, or through the Chambers of Commerce in combination, as the case may be.

CHAPTER XII

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY[1]

In the region of commerce and agricultural settlement, serene and uninterrupted early prosperity of trade and industry in British East Africa has been most marked, not so much in its volume, but in the ample success attained for the small capital and industry introduced and involved. Since the early days of settlement there has been no real "slump" nor material loss from failure or disappointment, so common in other pioneer spheres. The reasons for this happy state of pioneer trade are, firstly, that the foundations of trade and planting have been started on a modest scale everywhere. Secondly, there were no great expectations by the way of rapid fortunes, such as exist in gold-mining and other highly speculative regions. Thirdly, the country has always proved better than anticipated; its natural advantages and the scope of commerce offered in

[1] See Appendix VIII: Customs and Revenue Returns.

the coast and interior populations only needing scratching to yield remunerative returns. Another peculiar advantage of British East Africa is its commercial isolation or self-dependence, business only being accessible to those who boldly take up their residence and dwell there; for there is no adjacent older community to control the trade and deprive the local adventurer of his pioneer enterprise. Hence it is that the firms established and the farmers and planters settled on the land, though not a highly skilled class of their kind, and almost devoid of the capitalist among them, have all done very well, and a fair proportion made small fortunes.

Among the trading and importing firms failure has been practically unknown—at least, among the Europeans. With the settlers, rarely has a person who once settled on the land or in the country eventually abandoned it in a sense of failure or dislike of his adopted home. On the other hand, where a landowner has sold his property at a handsome profit—in many cases for sufficient sums to secure a competence—he has invariably reinvested his money in some other locality within the colony.

In accordance with these conditions, there has never been any deliberately inflated boom in things, for money has not been too plentiful; yet values have steadily increased, both in town and country properties, based on demand, and most properties are firmly held by men who are sufficiently well off to retain them.

The colony is almost entirely dependent on oversea supplies; for little, or nothing, is as yet manufactured in the colony. Yet in many elementary foodstuffs, such as coffee, meat, butter, eggs, vegetables, cheese, bacon, fruit, beans, and mealies, the country has long been entirely self-supporting. In wheat and flour, partly so. Sugar production has started, but tanned leather, beer, soap, oil, and other common articles of consumption only await enterprise to begin their manufacture from the native-grown raw products. Local timber sharply competes with the imported kind. The great interior trade demand is for cotton piece goods, hardware, machinery, soft goods, agricultural implements, tobacco, and wines and spirits. Native trading truck is a big and growing market. Motor-cars, motor-bicycles, and push-bikes are also in con-

siderable demand. As an indication of the potentiality of trade in British East Africa, it is only three or four years ago that Singer's Sewing Machine Company sent out a representative to explore the market, and this enterprising firm has three branches running, each under European management. By far the greater bulk of this firm's trade is with the Indians and the natives. (This particular firm is quoted for reason of the improbability before their advent of such a success in sewing machines among natives !)

Yet with all this presently considerable and fast-growing trade, the avenues of commerce are still very elementary. Certain large firms, such as the British East Africa Corporation, Messrs. Smith, Mackenzie & Co., Frigerio & Co. (Italian) Messrs. Childs, Parr & Joseph (of American origin), the East African Mercantile Company, and previous to the war several very important Hamburg and other German firms (closed down since), hold or held stocks of heavy lines, such as whisky, paraffin, timber, corrugated iron, and cotton piece goods ; but no big firm of the nature of warehousemen or wholesale suppliers from stocks has as yet established itself in these regions. This results in the bulk of the

purchasing trade being done individually direct from oversea—every firm its own indentor. This gives no encouragement to the spread of the small trader in the great hinterland region; who discovers no facilities to "fit out," as is the case in South Africa, where such firms as Mosenthal's, Randles Bros. & Hudson, and other wholesalers provide the reservoirs from which trade flows to the most distant corners of the Union.

But trade does penetrate throughout these regions by means of the small Indian trader, who carries on his barter and sale traffic under most elementary conditions and under cover of some small "dukkas," or tin shops, scattered over the land. These smaller traders are fed by the larger "Bazaar" firms, who in their turn either import direct or are supplied in bulk by the European merchant firm, or by the many indent agents trading from samples of their oversea connections.

In recent years several European up-country trading stores have opened, supplied partly by oversea agents in England and partly by local purchase from the coast shipping firms. Almost without exception these pioneers in a future big European

upcountry trade have done extremely well. The full volume of the native trading possibilities is, in the opinion of the writer, not touched yet, and this seems to be the opinion of the provincial officials, who are frequently drawing the attention of the local firms to the lack of trading stores with proper stocks amid and adjacent to the native Reserves.

In the town of Nairobi, though the principal requirements of the townspeople and visiting farmers and planters are fairly well catered for, yet new avenues are continually being discovered by the shrewd business man. As in all young and immature communities, what has been good enough for early days of business, in the process of time lags behind, and new and more vigorous enterprise takes its place. It were not wise to assume the responsibility of indicating any particular vocation open to a newcomer, where most businesses are represented; but just as the erstwhile supreme Indian and Goan retail establishments have had to make way before more efficient European retail methods, so will many of the earlier European firms succumb in time to a higher organization, brought about by

later competition. At the present day, though competition is fairly keen for the trade that offers, yet, as the country opens up and estates expand in production, the commerce of the place will expand with it. Most firms to-day are trading up to their full strength, leaving room for fresh enterprise to satisfy the increased demand which is surely following.

If the growth of trade in British East Africa continues to progress at the same rate in the near future as in the immediate past—and every token promises this—a few years after the war will show big changes in the commercial position.

The country is crying for capital expenditure in planting, irrigation, roads, markets, farmers and traders' banks, and in transport. The increase in shipping is largely kept back by the crude conveniences of the port. The natural harbour at Kilidini is perhaps the finest on the East Coast, consisting of several deep-water channels between the island and mainland — land-locked, yet spacious enough for fleets to anchor in. A large sum has already been voted by the Imperial Government for the construction of a deep-water pier, which presents no great

engineering difficulty. The war has put this work back, though the primary marine survey has already been completed.

The National Bank of India had the territory exclusively to itself until a few years ago, when the Standard Bank of South Africa established branches at Mombasa and Nairobi, and now owns several provincial sub-branches. The success of this well-known bank in British East Africa has been conspicuous, despite the apparently modest commercial sphere for two such important banking concerns. Since the war, yet another bank has started, in the National Bank of South Africa, whose early career up to this date follows closely in the successful footsteps of its South African competitor. The advent into British East Africa of such important banking concerns, employing big staffs at the chief centres, is significant of the rapidly growing conditions of trade and an object-lesson to those who contemplate business.

The legal currency is the rupee, which has a fixed value of 1s. 4d.—one hundred cents to the rupee and fifteen rupees to the pound sterling. Suggestions to adopt the English coinage in the place of the rupee

have from time to time appeared in the Press, but mature consideration and comparison has generally resulted in the triumph of the rupee system, due greatly to the more convenient cental or decimal principle, so much easier of calculation than pounds, shillings, and pence.

British East Africa boasts of two newspapers, both issuing weekly and daily editions, printed and published at Nairobi. In addition, the one journal issues a small daily at Mombasa, and the other rival concern is interested in the Uganda paper published at Kampala. Both newspaper concerns are of individual and independent control, being swayed by no particular interest—government or syndicate. This has been of great advantage to the settlers, as the popular views are strongly supported. The *Leader* calls itself "The Settler's Paper," and has a big circulation in the districts and provinces and on the coast. Edited (and partly owned) by an old colonial journalist, the interests of British colonization are stoutly supported. Both papers are highly advanced for such a young sphere, publishing in their weekly editions before the war no less than a thirty-six page journal,

owning their own premises, machinery and stores, and well equipped works. This high position of the Press has been gained, characteristically, without any support or encouragement by the Government, whose advertisements are practically confined to the *Government Gazette*, while the considerable printing plants owned by the Administration and the Railway produce almost all the printing required by Government.

CHAPTER XIII

PLAGUE

FOLLOWING Asiatic immigration, the plague has apparently come to stay in British East Africa—that is, to stay indefinitely under the existing political conditions and sanitary ideals of Government. Bubonic plague was not endemic—if it ever existed—among the Central African native tribes before the advent of the railway. With the building of the Uganda Railway came the Indian coolie labourer, followed by the Indian trader, mostly from Bombay, and the Asiatic brought the seeds of the plague with him. At first it was Mombasa, then Kisumu, and afterwards Nairobi, where the earlier outbreaks occurred ; later, the plague flea crossed with its host to Uganda, where recently Kampala has suffered a most virulent outbreak, and even some of the district trade centres in British East Africa have lately been affected. The dissemination of the disease is due to rats, which harbour the

plague flea ; but in almost all cases the outbreaks have occurred in the local Bazaars, where the Indians congregate and swelter. Fortunately, in very rare cases do Europeans contract the disease, due mostly to their greater cleanliness, superior form of living conditions, and probably also due to footgear and clean clothing denying the harbouring of the horrid parasite, with its freedom to bite. Medical officers go freely enough in the plague areas without catching the disease, which appears to be simply infectious or communicated by parasitic infection.

The disease generally makes its appearance about once a year, starts with one case or two, and runs its course with increasing frequency and spread until either by natural means, or due to preventive and cleansing steps and isolation, or all these, the death-rate becomes reduced and eventually the plague ceases as suddenly as it started.

In examining this plague menace at Nairobi, the deductions to be drawn may be applicable to all other East African centres. Following the invariable short-sightedness and lack of local grasp which have distinguished the Colonial Office administration in other directions, when the town of Nairobi

was laid out a Bazaar quarter was permitted to establish itself right in the centre of the town, and the leading street (Government Road) was laid out leading to it and through it. The European business quarter was evidently regarded in the early days by the Indian official as a mere appendage to the Indian Bazaar. At the same time the official quarters were more judiciously built away from the nascent town, so that Asiatic contamination should not affect the "ruling classes." In the earliest beginnings this initial mistake may be to an extent excused and condoned, for no one at that time seemed to realize that British settlement would come to stay. But a few years after the establishment of the capital at the chief railway centre, it would not have been expecting too much of any enlightened Governor—after realizing the natural wealth of the country and experiencing the unexcelled climate of the Highlands—"to put his house in order" and prepare for that growth of European habitation and settlement which was clearly indicated for the future. Instead, the authorities "clung to fatality." They shut their eyes to the dangers and increasing difficulties of the future, and instead

of instituting a proper segregation of races, the plague spot in the centre of the town was permitted to remain and expand. This *laissez-faire* policy has been countenanced on two grounds: namely, on the score of the cost of buying out the Indian owners of the shanties so crowded in the Bazaar space, and, secondly, for fear of offending the Indian community, a few of whom were drawing big rents due to this overcrowding, the tenants paying unconscionable sums by profiting in the trade of the much-frequented thoroughfare. Each time an outbreak arose the indignation of the European business men increased and was given voice through the Press and other public channels. On each occasion of this outcry for the removal of the Bazaar the cost of removing the Indians loomed higher in the mind of the Treasury, and became less possible under the limitations of the Budget. The principal owner of the Bazaar plots is Mr. Jeevanjee, an Indian commercial magnate, who stands on his rights not to be unjustly deprived of his property, or the value of his property; but at the same time Mr. Jeevanjee is a gentleman certainly open to reason. Impressed by the menace to the

European—and also to the well-to-do Indian —by this overcrowding and squalor in the centre of the town, Mr. Jeevanjee has expressed his willingness to meet the Government in improving matters. We are not cognizant of the precise terms of Mr. Jeevanjee's offer, but they are represented to be too onerous for Government acceptance, or were deemed to provide no real solution; Mr. Jeevanjee himself throws the onus of blame on the Government. In the meanwhile, the few substantial Indian firms owning plots independently of Mr. Jeevanjee have started to put up substantial stone buildings in the Bazaar, one or two of which are already erected—thus yearly making solution more difficult by increasing vested interests.

The township of Nairobi has been governed since shortly after its foundation by a Municipal Committee, consisting mainly of Government officials, and its authority, therefore, not to be distinguished from the Government itself, though ostensibly semi-independent. In any case, the Government has always controlled its deliberations, and the Provincial or District Commissioner presides as chairman. Despite being annu-

ally faced with the plague menace, the Municipal Committee has steadily neglected to deal with it in any radical fashion. What representations have been made to the Secretariat have always been met with the reply, "No funds"; and there the matter has been allowed to rest. In this attitude, not only have the prayers of the public been ignored, but also the recommendations made by the Government sanitary specialist, Mr. Bransby Williams, who was employed by the Colonial Office in 1907 to report on the sanitation of Nairobi.[1]

The opposition to the removal of the Bazaar by the Government and the Municipal Committee is based on the following arguments: firstly, that the Indians residing there are opposed to their own removal; secondly, that expropriation, based on the rental value of the property, would entail the outlay of something like £200,000, which the Government are not prepared to vote or recommend for the purpose; thirdly, that even were the Bazaar removed elsewhere, it would not be possible to remove all Indian residents from the town area, and other outbreaks may occur in other localities within the town.

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 240.

Plausible as these arguments may appear on the surface, if examined closely they will not stand criticism. In the first place, one does not expect that slum-owners will voluntarily commit suicide; but they have to go, nevertheless, when public health demands it. Secondly, the sum set down as the value of the Bazaar property is mere guesswork, and is not based on the recommendation of a properly constituted valuation board. The question of the value of that section of Nairobi included in the Bazaar, cleared and cleansed, as against its value in its present congested state, has never been considered. Mature opinion puts the cleared value as higher than the present Bazaar value. Thirdly, the future planning of the town has to be taken into account, and also whether in the end the expropriation of the Bazaar is not *inevitable*, and will have to be effected at a still higher cost than to-day. Fourthly, it is seen by a large-scale plan of the town kept in the archives of the Municipal Committee, which indicates the various outbreaks of plague by spots, that the Bazaar persists as the hot-bed of the disease, and that other localities distant from the Bazaar are practic-

ally free. In short, the Bazaar question should long ago have been treated in the same way that sanitary improvements in London are treated—by Act of Parliament. It is said that plague at one time broke out at Johannesburg and the drastic course was taken to ring-fence the infected area and destroy all within it. The owners were compensated, but the ultimate disposal of the land under more sanitary conditions provided a profit on the cost of expropriation. But Johannesburg has a business government and Nairobi an official government—which makes the difference.

Experts seem to agree that the most effective course to eradicate a plague spot is to isolate it utterly until the pest dies out. Were this done with the next outbreak of disease in the Bazaar, then the value of the property under this annual disability becomes automatically reduced. The narrow Bazaar thoroughfare consists of a lot of Indian "dukkas" and shanties—trade done with the natives on the verandas and under crowded conditions. Within this squalid quarter are contained a few really wealthy and important Indian firms, doing both a wholesale and retail business. Efforts

are made annually to cleanse the buildings where plague appears, but when once infection starts it spreads outside the Bazaar, and only recently, for the first time, has invaded the country, with the natives dying on the public roads and spreading infection among the labour on the farms.

The plague question demands a firm and drastic hand, a strength of will which not one of the Governors has yet exhibited. Fortunately, up till the present the scourge has been kept within bounds not seriously to affect the European population; but the danger is always present, and, unless the disease is efficiently fought, a day will arrive when public indignation may develop racial and civil trouble.

Also, the natives have to be protected; for in the case of the native no proper housing provision or segregation has been attempted. Here, again, an equal crime of neglect impeaches the past Administrations. The native is homeless in Nairobi; though in South Africa is scarcely a town or a village which has not its established "native location" for many years past. The thousands of natives that work in and visit the town of Nairobi crowd the private European quarters for

sleeping, or otherwise are bled by extortionate payment to the Asiatic owners of hovels. Overcrowding is the natural outcome, and though the municipal law affects control, the evil of necessity remains, for the lack of proper housing facilities.

CHAPTER XIV

GENERAL POLITICAL SURVEY

In the foregoing chapters we have lightly reviewed the various phases of life, physical features, and administrative conditions of British East Africa, in an endeavour to yield to the student and inquirer an approximate estimate of the young colony from inside experience, and from the view-point of one claiming other colonial early experiences and some study of British colonial history. These descriptions have been interlarded with personal views and criticisms, which by no means exhaust the subjects reviewed, and will doubtless suffer criticism in their turn by the apologists of Imperial obligations and colonial policy. As the foregoing descriptions and comments leave the ground open to many conflicting opinions on the various trends, it is useful to generalize the political position in the colony, aiming as far as possible to yield

a fair and impartial impression of affairs as they exist.

It is seen that British East Africa is a fair and fruitful country, producing with very little difficulty and with few drawbacks a great range of economic products; that within its borders lies a large territory, healthy and habitable for the European settler; that both in the Highlands and Lowlands dwell various native tribes, populous and assumably increasing (an exact census has not as yet been accomplished); that superimposed over this aboriginal population is a veneer of Asiatic settlement, doing trade in every corner of the Protectorate; and above this again comes the European administration and settlement, taking everywhere the lead in control—through government, shipping, commerce, and permanent enterprise. Even behind the great Indian trade are the bigger European merchant, shipping, and agency firms, whose "bazaar" trade (as the Indian trade is termed) is in some directions more important than the European demand. It is also seen that the Press and Chambers of Commerce of the colony are almost entirely European, and that in the towns the Euro-

pean stores have expanded at the expense of the Indian and Goan firms. A close observer into the conditions portrayed will have seen that the purchasing and taxable powers of the native, upon which Indian trading and Government revenue depend, are almost entirely due to the money spent by the European in native labour, being capital put into the land by the growing and developing European settler; that the Indian is a trader purely and simply, and not a producer, except as a worker in European employ, whose earnings go back to India and are to a very small extent reinvested in the land.

Hence it is that the resident European with a full knowledge of this position regards lightly the factor of numbers in population. The millions of natives and the thousands of Asiatics represent to him the mere substratum of settlement, and not political rivals in the future development of the colony. The future of the colony is with the European—unless the Imperial authorities deliberately cherish and encourage Asiatic settlement at the sacrifice of British interests.

The local Government standpoint and

opinion differ very materially from those of the European settler. The Imperial authorities take the broader view of Empire, to whose allegiance black, Asiatic, and white man equally subscribe. It is the "White Man's Burden" *versus* theoretical equality under the law. The Home gospel runs that the aboriginal native has to be protected against the cupidity of the colonial settler and the British Indian maintained in his rights of British citizenship. The ideal of all equal under the Flag is a great and noble one, especially in the light of the remarkable loyalty of all parts of the Dominions during this Great War. But in actual practice—as in so many mundane social and political questions—equality does not exist, nor can it be artificially enforced. Oil and water will never mix; no more will the European, the Asiatic, and the African native. Each may be preserved intact and in peace within his own division; they may momentarily combine by the solvent of trade and commerce; they may work unitedly under a common lead; but no compound construction of a parti-coloured community—except after generations of *racial* absorption—could be successfully organized from with-

out. We know of no instance of such a case in the world's history and see no such combination in prospect. One race and its ideal must dominate and control where fundamental racial divisions clash, and where two (or more) planes of civilization materially differ both in degree and kind.[1]

If this frank and plain conclusion be accepted, then the great difficulty of the administration of British East Africa—which has proved so unsatisfactory in the past—is well explained. The Imperial Government established its rule over the Protectorate with the laudable desire to hold the scales evenly and disturb as little as possible the peaceful development of these mixed races. The natives were to be maintained in their ancestral domains; the Indian and Arab merchant and trader had full right to Imperial support and protection. If the Protectorate had remained as it was originally, when taken over, then these ideals of governing would have been logical, practical, and possible. But into this happy family came the European immigrant and settler. At the beginning the few European merchant importing and exporting firms

[1] See Appendix V, p. 244.

trading on the East Coast littoral (German firms largely preponderating), presented no difficulty in fitting in with the Imperial designs, for they traded through the Indian, Arab, and coloured communities; but when the Highlands were opened up with the construction of the Uganda Railway, and the European colonist proper came to settle and to occupy land throughout the country, the whole political aspect changed.

The earlier Governors, Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Charles Elliott, were pleased to welcome Europeans as a leaven to the coloured peoples, and notably Sir Charles Elliott had a clear insight into a possible European future settlement (see his book). Sir James Hayes Sadler was the first Governor who became faced with the accomplished fact of European colonization, but whose significance, as an old Indian official—administering similar latitudes in India—with a big and wealthy Indian population then at its zenith, and living in the old tradition of the physical impossibility of European permanent family residence in the tropics—he sadly missed. As the European community grew and spread, its voice became more insistent, and with the Governor's and

his fellow officials' convictions of the lack of permanence of these new European arrivals, as against the rooted native occupation and widespread Indian activity, this insistent new voice struck him rather as an impertinence, having regard to the insignificant proportions of the European settlement. These views were, with little doubt, translated to the Colonial Office and accepted authoritatively, as derived from the man on the spot. Hence trouble arose between the settlers and Sir James Hayes Saddler; a personal insult and dispute were referred to the Colonial Office, and certain nominated members on the Legislative Council—including Lord Delamere—were officially deprived of their dignity. Subsequently, this decision (as previously related) was reconsidered and amended. Henceforth, the colony was considered a troublesome one at Downing Street, and the settlers were regarded as a lot of agitators, a reputation which it is taking time to remove.

From those times onwards the demand of the settlers for popular representation in the Legislative Council has never ceased —which demand has been steadily ignored and refused by the Imperial authorities,

supported, or inspired (as it would appear), by the advice of the local Governors; this desire, though it might otherwise have appealed to the local administration, being considered inadvisable, due to the policy still maintained by the colonial authorities that the Asiatic population should be given equal rights.

But the Government itself stood in an anomalous position in this respect, for while preaching the gospel of political equality, yet of its own deliberate thought and policy it sold land to Europeans with the restriction of non-Asiatic residence in European areas. So behind the Government policy remains always the natural conviction that the Highlands, at least, should be preserved for the European. Just as the Highlands are destined to control the whole territory, so even behind Government policy we are faced with a recognition that the European must maintain control.

So, despite the earlier endeavours to retain the colony as a black and Asiatic reserve, things have developed differently. The parting of the ways has been recently accomplished in the grant of a qualified municipality to the town of Nairobi, with only

the European element possessing a franchise —the Asiatic and Goan elements being represented by Government nomination. A similar principle is recommended in the latest Legislative Council representation proposals, and at a later date, no doubt, the settlers will successfully claim representation on the Executive Council.

A similar change must come about in native policy. The Government is still obsessed with the need, in justice to the native, to permit him to occupy miles of country originally allotted him in the richest areas of the Highlands, which he never will utilize; this decision will have to be reconsidered in the light of the present conditions. Native reservations will have to be resurveyed with the aim to retain sufficient land for their needs, while expropriating—with or without compensation—that portion of the Reserves which abuts on the railway and which is capable of higher development in planting, dairy farming, and other European activities.

The point to be considered by the Home Government is the probable—nay, inevitable—future of the Protectorate. If it still be decided that the country will develop

into a black man's country and not into a permanent European settlement, then no coloured disability need be established, and European settlement should be discouraged, with the effect of the land going back into its earlier primitive conditions. If it be decided that the European has come to stay, with his wife and family, and in permanent occupation, then any false hopes given to the Asiatic of participating in political control will only bring trouble. This is not stated with any racial prejudice or denying the high qualities of the Indian as a trader and industrialist. The issue is put in the conviction that a British colony must either be British in practice or Asiatic in trend. The two ideals —religious, political, sanitary, social, and in treatment of the native — fundamentally differ.

This does not connote an impossibility of the two British racial communities living side by side in peace. Certain non-European tracts may be given over to Indian residence and development. Indian trade should enjoy the same protection as British trade. There always will be a big trade done with India. The Indian artisan will be essential

for many years to come to the development of the country. It is political predominance which must be retained for the European, both from the standpoint of local colonial development and also for reasons more fully set out in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XV

THE COUNTRY'S HIGH DESTINY

ESPECIALLY in these days of universal upheaval of the political forces of the world; dwarfing all previous historic human clash, sacrifice, and strife; a consideration of the political value of a distant African possession, which has not yet emerged from its primeval condition of settlement, may well appear of minor interest to the contemporary student of the evolution of human progress. Yet many factors and considerations indicate that in the distant future this young and comparatively small and unknown area of the world's surface may loom big indeed in the history of the world's political and national development.

A glance at the map of Africa will reveal to those who have carefully read this description and analysis of the salient features of the country—political, ethnological and climatical—and visualized the

picture drawn, that British East Africa, with its now established European settlement, is peculiarly an oasis of temperate and healthy European occupation amid a vast and practically unlimited extent of rich, tropical black man's country. To the north extends Somaliland and Abyssinia, the first-named land a dry, pastoral, nomadic region, peopled by a virile though primitive race of traders and nomads, and the other territory the highland home of an independent and semi-civilized Semitic tribe; a land rich in many economic products, only awaiting proper avenues of intercourse between the two bordering territories to develop into a very valuable commercial client and neighbour. North-west of British East Africa and Uganda (which territories are already partly united in administration) the Nile region is touched and the borders run with the Soudan. To the west of British East Africa are the great Lakes Victoria and Albert Edward, with the very big trade already established on these waters, and west again of Uganda are the splendid and extremely rich regions of the Congo Free State, of high and healthy altitude and great gold deposits, the nearest seaport to which is

Mombasa. Dropping again to the Congo basin are the vast undeveloped forest regions of the Congo (Darkest Africa), a tropical country extending right across the continent to the Atlantic Ocean. South-west lies what is now known as German East Africa, including two great avenues of trade and commerce in the Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika. All these parts are still comparatively unexploited and of an essentially tropical character. South of British East Africa stretches German East, and thence (should this portion revert to the British flag) still again the coast and tropical regions of Portuguese East Africa. To the east, from the coastline, stretches the Indian Ocean, providing a direct highway to India, South Africa, Japan, and Australia.

By this general geographical survey, one derives two general conclusions by the mere facts of the situation, namely, that in the whole of the vast dark continent of Central Africa, as far as has been ascertained (and the physical features of the entire region are broadly known), the only *country*—as distinct from isolated areas of plateau or mountain description—having an altitude, and consequently a climate, sufficiently

healthy for European occupation and settlement is British East Africa. There are a few exceptions to this outstanding fact, such as at Moshi and Arusha, on the slopes and buttresses of Mount Kilimanjaro, and on other high escarpments and great ridges which rise irregularly through this tropical expanse; but such parts have their mixed climates and altitudes, where healthy and malarial tracts commingle in patches, and where no stable climatical condition invites European settlement. The Highlands of British East Africa extend, roughly, 500 to 600 miles east to west and north to south, an area larger than France or Spain, few parts of which are otherwise than healthy, with a climate unequalled in its constant temperature, in degree similar to a mild European summer. North, south, east, and west of these Highlands, at lower and less salubrious altitudes, extend vast tropical regions of unlimited economic resources, growing every raw tropical product so much demanded by the world's markets.

British East Africa is consequently seen to differ from other temperate regions of colonization, civilization, and commerce in its peculiar geographical situation, and con-

sequently here, for these Highlands, one may well predict a great industrial and commercial future; with trade of the white man radiating and fertilizing, and feeding and being fed by, the enormous resources of its vast tropical environment. The second conclusion, which appears equally unchallengeable, is that just as the Highlands of British East Africa will become the nucleus and focus of trade for Central Africa north of Tanganyika, so will the increasing European settlement, which nothing can stop to-day, develop and evolve into a dominating community of African industrials of European extraction, which by means of their growing wealth and their wonderful climate; their towns and their trading and their manufactures; will influence and control, and possibly rule directly in the distant future, the millions of black peoples around them, from the ocean to the Congo and from the Nile source to Nyassaland. The probability is remote that any similar region will be discovered to rival British East Africa in economic and industrial settlement and political influence in Central Africa between the parallels of 8° or 10° south of the Equator and the same

distance north. This sphere of influence, extending also some 18° west, to the interior, is a vast heritage for a young colony to have in future prospect.

It is these present facts, and the conclusions they lead to, which make the development of British East Africa such an interesting speculation to those who are alive to these possibilities and know the country whose destiny would appear to promise such a great future. And those who may follow the reasoning and appreciate the potentialities indicated will also conclude that great and wise statesmanship is now demanded in order that the British Empire and peoples who possess this region to-day shall reap for posterity —and reap also contemporaneously — the full advantage of this position.

In these days of organized Empire Settlement, no more important sphere of national colonization exists than that presented by these great healthy Highlands, towering singularly above a sea of tropical wealth and providing providentially a resting and dwelling place for those who may by circumstance or intent elect to cast their lot in African tropical development. It is true that Brit-

ish East Africa cannot compare in extent with the great regions of agricultural Canada and Australia, awaiting the British emigrant to settle and occupy. The available areas—counted as Government land—are scattered and circumscribed; in fact, the actual area available, and the survey and selection of what is already known to be available, are as yet unknown quantities. But in addition to Government-owned land, many thousands of acres held by private owners lie fallow, unutilized, altogether undeveloped. Such land, in most desirable locations, can be obtained for closer settlement either by treaty with the owners or by Government pressure in those cases where a deliberate attempt is shown to hold purely for speculative purposes. In addition to these areas possible of settlement we have large portions of the native and game and forest reserves which are useless and unprofitable in their fallow state, and might be devoted to much better purpose to provide homes for suitable British emigrants. Quoting Sir A. Steel-Maitland (Under Secretary for the Colonies) in the House of Commons on August 14 (as reported in the *Daily Telegraph*) :—

As to the suggestion that a committee should be appointed to consider the whole question of reconstruction in the Protectorates, he contended that, while it was true that we were trustees for the black races, we were also trustees for the needs of the rest of the world. After the war there would be an immense need for certain kinds of produce, such as oils and fats, of which these countries had great producing potentialities. *Therefore, while our paramount (?) duty was towards the natives, we had also the duty of seeing that the resources of these countries were not left untapped and undeveloped.*

This is the first occasion that the point of view taken in this book—being the old colonists' argument against too much valuable land being left in the hands of lazy natives—has been publicly mentioned by a British Minister in Parliament. Either the preservation of the raw native is a higher duty, and better for humanity and civilization than the establishment of European homes in Darkest Africa, or the policy of retaining big tracts for unprogressive people is wrong. Undoubtedly, a middle course is possible, one which will not deprive the aborigines of a possibility to live while at the same time utilizing valuable soil for higher economic and scientific cultivation.

Another difficulty in instituting govern-

ment settlement in British East Africa is the amount of capital required to start farming and planting in a semi-tropical country. This has been estimated at various sums between a few hundred pounds and a few thousand pounds by various authorities. In this connection, an offer made by the present Lord Kitchener is instructive. Lord Kitchener has been now in East Africa for some years, mainly on military duty; but in his spare time he has taken considerable personal interest in the colony, in which his distinguished brother had great faith, shown by the purchase of a big estate there, which the late Lord Kitchener set out to develop with characteristic energy. Lord Kitchener's offer, as it appeared in the East African *Leader* of June 16, and addressed to the Colonial Secretary, is as follows:—

SIR,

I have the honour to submit for approval the following scheme:—

1. That I be granted an area of agricultural land with a radius of four miles.

2. That I be allowed to recruit sufficient voluntary labour for the above.

If above be granted I undertake to:—

1. Settle thirty English soldiers on the land.

2. To give them a right to purchase a half share of their holding at any time.

3. To advance to them at 6 per cent. funds necessary for development.

4. To build a school and provide a native teacher for the children of the labourers.

5. To see the labourers are well fed, well paid, and well housed.

6. To keep at least a hundred of the above labourers trained as askaris to the satisfaction of the nearest police officer, with one European N.C.O. to every ten men. Only expense to the Government being arms and uniform — these men only to be called out at times of national emergency.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
KITCHENER.

c/o Advocate Barry,
MACKINNON BUILDINGS, NAIROBI.

Lord Kitchener's purpose (we have reason to believe) is to show the courage of his opinions in offering to carry out himself what he considers could be done by the State. In this pithy offer lie the germs of what many people have been thinking in British East Africa, those who best know the conditions of economic colonization there. There is scarcely a doubt that closer settlement will develop in the territory by process of time; but in these days of assumed scientific organi-

zation of a nation's resources, making the most of the scope and material available, it seems anomalous that with such a unique Imperial estate in possession of the British world the Imperial Government should not "take a hand in the deal" and administer the country in the best way to make it of the fullest value to the Empire.

It is not the purpose here to enter in detail into the capital required by the emigrant farmer in British East Africa. In actual fact there are many successful landowners in the Protectorate who have started with no capital to boast of, acquiring the land on low Government terms in the early days; but most of the farmers to-day, owning from 630 to 5,000 acres each, have possessed capital from, say, £500 to £5,000 to start development with. A sum of £1,000 is mostly mentioned as the capital required to develop a 1,000-acre farm. But under any scheme of individual land settlement, 50 to 100 acres would be the measure and 500 acres the limit. For instance, 100 acres of coffee in about four years should return anything from £1,000 to £2,000 per annum; 25 acres of adult coffee-trees would be a competency to a working farmer. High-grade beans, fruit,

and flax, and dairy farming (with grazing leased from a bigger landowner or the Government) all may bring a similar advantage to the industrious man, only entailing the need of quite a moderate capital.

Granting, however, that the farmer emigrant to British East Africa will scarcely come from the labourer or small employé class, he may well be derived from the yeoman or county family class of younger sons, or from the higher middle-class in commercial life in Britain. If state-aid could be introduced, there would be no limit to the number of robust young Britishers, married or unmarried, who would be available and eager to take up their dwelling in this fascinating country, with such a desirable climate. Such suggested emigration takes no count of the big openings presented to superior artisans, engineers, and merchants in the towns and growing settlements.

Thus we hope we have made it clear that: (1) British East Africa has the possibilities of a great industrial and political future, and (2) that the scope is presented for big settlement, in the sense that where

to-day perhaps 5,000 to 6,000 settlers are on the land, an area is available, and trade and farming are open, for a population of 100,000 to 250,000 European souls; and this without vitally disturbing the native and Indian populations in their holdings, except by the higher development such an increase in the European element may bring in its train.

CHAPTER XVI

GERMAN EAST AFRICA—AFTER THE WAR

At the time of writing the result of the war lies still on the lap of the gods. Nobody can to-day predict the ultimate fate of the German colonies, and only an entire defeat of the Hunnish foe can make us masters of their fate.

Yet it is of interest, and also necessary, to lay down in advance what the requirements of British East Africa are in this connection, and also bearing in mind that the South African Union has to-day a material vested interest in the disposal of a colony which has been conquered by the gallant General Smuts and his men, in conjunction with the Imperial troops serving with him.

Should German East Africa fall entirely to the British Empire, perhaps as a part of the huge indemnity Great Britain may justly demand of a foe who would have little

mercy were the positions reversed (for example, the Belgian and Polish exactions!), that fine possession would round off and complete the British possessions in Africa, providing an all-British route from south to north, and leaving Great Britain the mistress of the great Lake regions, to whose discovery British travellers and explorers have devoted their lives to a greater extent, and with bigger results, than in the case of any foreign explorers. Were British and German East Africa united under one pro-consul, they would comprise the most potentially wealthy African colony in the whole continent, for reason of the fine uplands in this part of Africa, the great trunk railways already constructed, and the many millions of natives inclined to trade and industry contained within their borders. In tropical produce this area would be unexcelled in range and in the fertility of its soil, compared with other parts of tropical Africa. Whether administered separately or in federation, the bounding future of this big area in planting and industry is assured, measured even by the work and the exports already achieved.

But should our statesmen and our Allies

in conference decide to share this fine German colony in some common proportion to be laid down, then the Power next to Great Britain deserving of consideration would be the United States of America. Perhaps under an international customs agreement the great German Protectorate might be held open to the trade of the world on equal terms of trade facility, though not under common or international control. Its administration should be entrusted to one of the great Allied Powers; as a *policy* and method of continuity is an essential factor towards the good government of the black man. Divided counsels and opposed ideals would be fatal to peace and progress. A strong and firm and undisputed rule is one of the essentials towards African settlement; international control (as in one quarter suggested) would, we think, be fatal (we have the past history of Egypt as a warning).

A third possibility to be considered is that, when peace is settled, the Conference of the Powers to decide territorial adjustments may subscribe to the claim by Germany that her colonies should be returned to her—at least this big African territory, upon

which she has spent so many millions and established so many interests. Industrial Germany has need of the valuable raw products derived from the territory, and Germany may claim that she has a right to a return of some portion of her African possessions, and that, even if defeated, expediency alone would dictate the retention of this well-established German colony by the Vaterland. As no punishment is too severe for the German outrage and slaughter which have marked her conduct of the Great War, all such appeals could well and very properly be ignored; but in any case, Germany may, when the war ends, be in the tactical position to demand the return of this colony as the price of peace.

Should this restitution be accepted in principle, then there should be an insistence by the British Government that the borders of the British and German Protectorates be adjusted. An endeavour should be made to secure inclusion within British East Africa of the Usambara Province, including the Mount Kilimanjaro (conceded to Germany as a royal whim, though really an original portion of the British sphere of influence), the Tanga Railway (which is now a branch of the Uganda

Railway system), and follow a line running as closely as geographical conditions will permit due west to include the entire shores of Lake Victoria, which is to-day in essence a British water.

By obtaining this portion of German East Africa there would be no rivalry with Germany in the Lake Victoria trade, but instead, the Belgian territory may be extended to the Lake, giving the Congo an access to this eastern interior water-route as some small compensation for the wrong done to Belgium, and in reward for the assistance given by the Belgian Congo Forces in the conquest of German East Africa.

If this were accomplished, Germany would still retain the greater portion of the colony, with repossession of her trunk line to the Lake Tanganyika, covering an area of territory large enough to occupy years of development, and with Dar-es-Salaam and the greater bulk of interior trade and tropical producing regions left intact for her service and development as before the war.

Another empire need in any such adjustment would be a right of way for the Cape-to-Cairo Railway through the Tanganyika depression, in order to join up with the

Uganda and Soudan systems of rail, and thus provide an all-British route from Cape Town to Alexandria.

An international settlement of Central Africa should include a provision for a rigid limitation of armament in these native territories, permitting each European colony only force enough to control internal trouble and not sufficient for aggression. An international authority should have power over the importation of fire-arms and munitions of war within these Central African regions, checked either by the amount of military expenditure in each area, or by licence or common treaty between the Governments concerned.

The danger of arming the African native has been already sounded by General Smuts in one of his remarkable speeches on the war. It is not soldiers the world requires from Africa, but industry and peaceful progress.

This mere outline of considerations which should accompany any settlement of the African regions when peace terms come up for discussion is an attempt to draw the attention of the Imperial authorities to the local situation in East Africa, as far as the interests of the British Empire are

affected. But this very wide question of international policy as regards Africa is too uncertain and liquid at the moment to register any concrete expression of opinion, other than to indicate the salient points worthy of consideration.

APPENDIX I

BRITISH EAST AFRICA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON ELECTIVE REPRESENTATION

[*Extract from the "Leader" of June 23, 1917.*]

THE British East Africa Legislative Council resumed in session at Government House on Tuesday morning, H.E. the Acting Governor (Hon. C. C. Bowring, C.M.G.) presiding. There were also present: The Hons. W. J. Monson, Acting Chief Secretary; J. W. Barth, Attorney-General; H. P. Espie, Treasurer; F. W. Major, I.S.O., C.M.G., Chief of Customs; B. Eastwood, General Manager of the Uganda Railway; A. C. MacDonald, Director of Agriculture; R. Barton Wright, Land Officer; Colonel J. Ainsworth, C.M.G.; C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.; Lord Delamere, P. H. Clarke, W. MacLellan Wilson, W. C. Hunter, with T. S. Thomas, Clerk of the Council.

ELECTIVE REPRESENTATION.

The Attorney-General read the Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council appointed to inquire into and report generally on the legislative steps to be taken to provide for the election by the

public of the European non-official members of the Legislative Council, and especially on the qualifications of electors, the qualifications of candidates for membership, the division of the Protectorate into electoral areas, and the representation on the Legislative Council of the interests of the Asiatic, Arab, and native communities.

He stated that the Special Committee appointed in pursuance of the motion passed in the Legislative Council on the 12th February 1917 sat on the 19th, 20th, and 23rd February 1917, and the 28th and 31st May 1917, and on the 18th June 1917.

The Committee is unanimously of opinion that the right to vote should not rest on any property or educational qualification, but that every male British subject, whether by birth or naturalization of European origin, should be eligible for the register of electors subject to proof of continuous residence in the Protectorate for at least twelve months prior to registration. By European origin is meant whole-blooded descent from European ancestors. The Committee is of opinion that at this stage of the Protectorate's development, when the coloured races outnumber the white, it is not desirable that the franchise should be extended to Asiatics or natives.

If the right to vote is restricted to British subjects, it is felt that means should be provided whereby foreigners of European origin in the Protectorate may be enabled to become naturalized British subjects.

A person otherwise possessing the necessary qualifications to become an elector should be disqualified—

(*a*) If he is of unsound mind.

(*b*) If he has been convicted of a criminal offence and has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment of either description of twelve months or

longer, and has not received a pardon, provided that he should be admitted to the register after two years from the date of the expiration of his sentence.

(*c*) If he has received relief from public, including parochial, funds within twelve months of his application to be put on the register of voters.

(*d*) If he has been declared a bankrupt in British East Africa and has not received his discharge.

(*e*) If he is suffering from any disqualification provided for the time being by any enactment.

The Committee is of opinion that any person seeking to become a member of the Legislative Council by election should be qualified as an elector save that in lieu of twelve months' continuous residence every member should have at least two years' continuous residence in the Protectorate before being nominated as a candidate for election. Every candidate should be capable of reading, writing, and speaking English.

Any person otherwise qualified for standing for election should be disqualified—

(*a*) If he is suffering from any legal incapacity.

(*b*) If he is a Civil servant actually employed by the Government.

(*c*) If he is a Municipal employee.

(*d*) If he has been declared a bankrupt in British East Africa and has not received his discharge.

(*e*) If he is a minister of religion.

(*f*) If he is of unsound mind.

(*g*) If he has been convicted of a criminal offence in British East Africa and has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment of either description of six months or more and has not received a pardon, provided that this disability may be removed by an order of the Governor in Council.

(*h*) If he has received relief from any public, including parochial, funds within twelve months of his nomination as a candidate for election.

Candidates and Election.

The Committee is agreed that in principle the fact that a candidate for election is a contractor to the Government should be a disqualification, but in view of the present stage of development of the Protectorate, when so many of its more prominent inhabitants derive part of their income from Government contracts, it is considered that the Protectorate would be debarred from the services of some of its more useful citizens as members of the Legislative Council if the principle were enforced. The Committee, however, is of opinion that in the event of a contractor with the Government standing for election he should disclose all such contracts.

Every elected member should ordinarily serve for a period of three years, but should have the power to resign his seat at any time.

Every candidate for election should be proposed and seconded and supported by not less than seven other persons before being regarded as duly nominated. The proposer, seconder, and backers should all be qualified as voters in the constituency for which the candidate is proposed.

There should be a register of voters for each electoral area. Any person qualified to vote who has resided in the electoral area for three months should be entitled to be registered and should remain on the register until qualified for registration in another electoral area, provided that any voter who has not resided in the electoral area in which he is registered for a period exceeding twelve months shall be struck

off the register. The register should be revised annually, when objections to any person registered can be disposed of. There should be an appeal from the revising authority to the High Court. Provision should be made that no person can be registered in more than one electoral area and therefore cannot record more than one vote.

The number of elected members the Committee suggests is ten for ten electoral areas. The areas suggested are :—

1. Nairobi.
2. Mombasa.
3. Coast lands, exclusive of Mombasa.
4. Londiani to Lake Victoria.
5. Rift Valley and Escarpment.
6, 7. Uasin Gishu, to be divided into two electoral areas.
8. West Kenya, Nyeri, Laikipia, and Fort Hall.
9. Machakos.
10. Kiambu and Limoru.

Electoral Areas.

The areas can more readily be ascertained by reference to the map. They have been delimited, as far as it reasonably can be done, with a view to obtaining areas in which similar interests predominate. The areas have been arrived at with the intention of having particular interests represented rather than on any other basis. Thus, while the total white population of the coast area is very much below that of any other suggested electoral area, it is felt that the interests peculiar to the rural area of the coast should be directly represented on the Council. The Committee is of opinion that in the present stage of the

Protectorate development it is more important that interests be represented rather than individuals.

The Uasin Gishu Plateau stands on a different footing from the rest of the Protectorate owing to the fact that there is a fairly large colony of Dutch on a part of the Plateau. The Committee has carefully considered the best means of representing both the interests of the Dutch and the English races on the Plateau, and, owing to the different uses to which each put the land, has arrived at the conclusion that it is desirable to divide the Plateau into two electoral areas, so that the Dutch interests can be fully represented without at the same time handicapping the representation of the interests of the rest of the Plateau.

The Committee considers that every person qualified to vote and to be on a register should have an opportunity of registering and voting. For this purpose it is suggested that provision be made to enable voters at outstations far removed from voting centres to record their votes by post or by some method other than that of personal attendance.

Indian Community.

The Committee is of opinion that the interests of the Indian community should be represented by the nomination of two members by the Governor. The Committee had the advantage of hearing deputations on the subject of Indian representation from the Indian Associations of Nairobi and Mombasa. The Nairobi Association were somewhat ambitious in their suggestions, which included electoral representation. The Committee feels that any extension of the franchise to Indians for the election of their own representatives or otherwise should form the subject of consideration

by the Council after it has been reconstituted by the addition of elected members.

The view taken by the Committee is that nominated Indian representatives, who should be able to read, write, and speak English, would be a much more effective way of voicing the views of the large Indian population of the Protectorate than to have such views expressed probably at second-hand by a European member or members appointed to represent Indian interests. It is thought that two Indian members are necessary in order that both the interests of Indians at the coast and up country should be represented.

The Committee considers that the effect of nominating Indians to the Council would be to bring the Indian community more into line with the European community in bearing the responsibilities and burdens of government, the advantages of which they already enjoy.

The Arab community, in the opinion of the Committee, should, if the suggested reorganization of the administration takes effect, be represented by the Resident Magistrate at Mombasa, in whose care the administration of the Arab population at the coast will be placed. This proposal departs from the principles dealt with in the preceding paragraph, but the language difficulty makes it almost impossible to afford any wide selection of persons from whom a member representing the Arab community could be chosen.

The native population should be represented on the Council by the Chief Native Commissioner, whose appointment it is hoped will not be long deferred.

The Committee considers that all nominated Government members should have freedom of speech and vote, but that there should be provisions enabling the Governor to control their vote in urgent matters

which the Government considers necessary and essential to carry through the Council; any instruction to that effect should be stated by the Governor publicly in Council before debate.

At the present stage of the Protectorate history a Government majority in the Council will have to be maintained, and additional Government nominees will have to be appointed for that purpose.

Female Suffrage.

The Committee had the pleasure of receiving a deputation of the East Africa Women's League, which urged the advisability and necessity of granting votes to women. The Committee is of opinion that this subject is one which should be dealt with by the Council itself after it has been reconstituted by the addition of elected members, so that the country by the exercise of the franchise would be in a position to express its opinion on the question. So many people are away on military duty at the present time that it is impossible to discover what the real feeling of the country now is on the matter. Female suffrage is not an accepted principle in the United Kingdom,[1] and it cannot be taken for granted that it is a principle which will commend itself to the majority of the European population, both male and female, in the Protectorate, whereas male suffrage is an accepted principle on which there can be no controversy.

The Committee is of opinion that provision should be made for a subsistence allowance of Rs. 15 per diem for all members who do not live in Nairobi and who attend during the period for which the Council is in session, and that for the purpose of attending the Council free railway facilities and an allowance to cover journeys other than by rail should be given.

[1] Since this report the principle has been approved in Parliament.

It is undesirable in the Committee's opinion that any person should be at any actual financial loss through being a member of the Council, and at the same time it is not suggested that there should be anything in the nature of payment of members for their services. It is considered that a daily allowance of Rs. 15 would cover the expenses of living in Nairobi without leaving an appreciable margin.

The Committee have not thought it necessary at this stage to report on the details of the legislation which it will be necessary to enact dealing with the registration of voters, the conduct of elections and corrupt practices, but has confined itself to the main principles which must be considered before any legislation is drafted. The Committee's opinion is that the best method of providing the necessary legislation will be by an Order in Council amending the East Africa Order in Council, 1906, and establishing a Legislative Council composed of elected and nominated members. The details should be provided by local legislation.

The Report having been laid on the table, the Chairman said he thought the report was very complete—everything had been gone into—and he would have very much pleasure in forwarding it to the Secretary of State by a very early mail.

APPENDIX II

BRITISH EAST AFRICA ECONOMIC COMMISSION

IMPORTANT EVIDENCE OF SETTLERS

[*From the "Leader" (Nairobi) of June 30, 1917.*]

THE Government Economic Conference commenced its sittings this week at Nakuru. Following are the members:

Chairman: The Hon. F. W. Major; Lord Delamere, P. H. Clarke, W. C. Hunter.

Joint Hon. Secretaries: E. Powys Cobb and W. A. Kempe.

Mr. Robert B. Curwen, of Molo, was the first settler called, and gave his opinions on dairy farming.

He stated that butter before the war was fetching Re. 1 per lb., and was now only 90 cents. As soon as the military demand ceased their butter would be thrown on the market in large quantities and a consequent glut would follow, which would put the small farmer in a bad way. Farmers are now getting 75 cents for butter fat, and a problematical bonus under 75 cents (= 1s.) would not pay the small farmer, but by co-operation it would pay at 75 cents.

Butter in England was bringing in anything from one shilling upwards.

The remedy for the threatened glut would be export. The inclusive cost of export before the war was 50 cents, and he thought the cost was about the same now.

Lord Delamere observed that he could not see how it would pay to export if the English price was 1s. and it did not pay to produce here under 75 cents, however low the cost of export might be.

It would be necessary to reduce freights to an absolute minimum—in fact, it would pay this Protectorate if dairy produce was conveyed to Home markets free, the expenses of agents in England being reduced considerably by means of local co-operation.

Mr. Curwen continued: I consider the quality of butter produced in this country as good as that of England or any other country. An improved breed of cattle would cheapen the cost of production. There is sufficient area in this country to justify a considerable export trade, and dairy farming would be very materially assisted by scientific research.

The Roads.

There are great possibilities for the cheese industry, Mr. Curwen said. Roads in this country are exceedingly bad, and there is ample room for improvement. I am in favour of the roads being under the control of a District Board, who must have full power, not merely be advisory. The Board should be elected.

The present system of sending petty native cases to be tried by a district magistrate is most unsatisfactory; in fact, as a consequence, most people do not send the cases in. I am in favour of more power being given to local J.P.'s to try petty cases.

I think that dairy produce of this country could compete with alien butter at present imported in

England from Northern European countries, provided Government assistance was forthcoming in the nature of subsidies, free freight, etc.

Problem of Freights.

There are great possibilities for a butter tinning industry. Heavy import duties on imported tinned butter would assist this. The initial expenses would be heavy.

Present freights render importation of stock practically prohibitive. The adjustment of subsidies in favour of local industries or free freight could be effected by means of increased import duties and upward rail freights.

Stringent means should be taken to prevent these industries from falling under foreign control, said Mr. Curwen. He had no complaint against the railway.

Education.

Mr. Jelf Ker, manager of Newland and Tarlton's local branch, next gave evidence on education. He considered suitable education to white children of the Protectorate was essential to the Empire. But educational facilities in Nakuru were utterly inadequate; sixteen pupils were being educated by one lady teacher; there were thirty or forty families in addition to these unable to educate their children locally, owing to lack of boarding accommodation.

I think (said Mr. Jelf) this town (Nakuru) is perfectly healthy and suitable for a boarding-school. There are many advantages here which favour children being educated in the country, instead of sending them to England. From my experience this country is perfectly healthy for children. I think scholarships would

be beneficial; if our children do not get better educational facilities than at present, they will not be able to compete with foreigners.

Paying Butter.

Mr. Harry Edward Watts, who has been a local dairy farmer since April 1904, said he did not agree with Mr. Curwen's figures, for he considered that 75 cents for butter fat paid without a bonus. He was of opinion that Mr. Curwen's figures concerning butter were very high.

He feared an after-war struggle was ahead of dairy-farmers, and agreed that an export trade needed to be organized as a remedy. He thought 50 cents was a better paying price on cheese than on butter. Mr. Watts continued: I think every effort should be made to bring freights down to absolute minimum, and this through greater co-operation.

There is much room for improving native labour. This is one of our greatest difficulties, and we must preserve cleanliness. It is easy to teach a *toto* (youth) cleanliness, and so attention should be directed to the teaching of native children. On the question of how to keep natives on the farms, I favour a system of indenture.

Railway Handicap.

I am very satisfied with the quality of cheese produced, and believe it will stand export. It averages 60 per cent. milk and is full of body. It would be an advantage if the railway as well as the ships used cold storage. With proper attention, I think this country can take its place with any dairy countries of the world. Farmers living in this country require very little.

We are handicapped by delay on the railway in handling the produce.

We intend to go in for the tinning of butter for export, for with an export trade we need suffer no glut. The industry, however, should be protected.

In answer to questions *re* complaints of the railway, Mr. Watts suggested the need of greater dispatch and supervision on business lines.

The importation of cattle should be assisted, and in fact industries generally would be assisted by greater scientific research. The Government's work had been good so far, but it could be improved.

Bacon Prospects.

Mr. Watts thought some of the local bacon was suitable for export, and considered British East Africa one of the finest pig growing countries of the world. Combined with dairy farming, pig growing could become a very great industry, for pig food-stuffs were to be readily grown on the farm. He was certainly of opinion that good pigs could be grown for export, but the ocean-going freights were the serious trouble. He, too, suffered seriously from the bad road system.

Aid was required in the matter of freight, and Mr. Watts believed the Natal system of a through freight would be beneficial. The East Coast freights were higher in comparison with those of other countries through the Suez Canal.

Under the existing circumstances labour was another great obstacle to farmers; there was no sense of permanence. If the Labour Commission's suggestions were put into force they would assist matters. Regulations should also be put into force; there was sufficient labour in the country if fully organized. As far as possible native Reserves should be gradually done away with; it was stated that one-third of the native reserved ground was unoccupied.

For the upkeep and control of roads a District Board with a surveyor were necessary ; that would be about four times as economical as the existing methods. The wear and tear of the bad roads was a 60 per cent. handicap.

Speaking for Nakuru District, the witness gave the local possibilities as maize, citrus, coffee, flax, and cattle, while sugar-cane might possibly turn out well. Reckoning one ton of sugar to twenty tons of cane, the land would produce one and a half to two tons of sugar per acre. A first coffee crop produced 6 or 7 cwt. per acre.

Summing up the situation generally, Mr. Watts said flax was in its initial stage ; cattle and dairying were good ; pigs did extraordinarily well ; education should be local, and white children did well in the country. The witness was in favour of technical education to a certain extent, but generally speaking he was not in favour of native education.

When the Economic Commission resumed its sitting on the second day, the evidence began with a change from dairying to pig growing.

The Pig Industry.

Percy Grant Thorne, farmer, Elburgon, who has been twelve years in residence, mostly between Nairobi and Elburgon, stated : With reference to pigs, one of the most pressing needs is scientific research, i.e. feeding, diseases, analysis of rations, swine fever. At present there is a lack of scientific experiments. Pigs do remarkably well in this country. Swine fever is the only thing we have to contend against. This is the general opinion amongst people who know.

We get 21 cents (3½d.) per lb. for feeding a pig. It costs this. Bacon is 1s. 6d. in South Africa. We should get 25 cents (4d.) per lb. in normal times to make a profit. The ratio of profit and loss is just the same with a small as with a large pig. The handling of the bacon by the factories in this country is not being carried out on the most economical lines. The factories can kill and cure more than they can store. Had it not been for military contracts the industry would have gone out of existence.

The stuff we import here is a cheap bacon at Home. First-class York cured hams will stand export without cold storage. The conditions of this country necessitate the turning out of only the best quality bacon and hams. Good feeding is the principal means of getting first-grade bacon and hams. A good experiment would be to get hams from Home in the normal way, to see in what condition they would arrive, and how they would stand the climatic conditions of this country. Barley does excellently well. We should have our own breweries in this country. Pigs could be fed on the residue of the barley used for the breweries. India should be a good export market for bacon and hams from this country. Egypt also, if the Suez Canal could be missed (?).

It would greatly assist matters if the industries were fostered by the Government in the way of freights and research; in fact in the early stages they should be subsidized. The adjustment could be effected by extra duty on general imports. This would have an effect on the cost of living. Apart from flour, sugar, tea, and sundry small items a man can live on the products of the country. Dairying, pigs, and grain growing always go together in most countries.

Timber and the Land.

The forests of this country do not produce timber for export. There is a possibility for cedar slabs. There is a poor return on local hard woods. I urge that reafforestation should be pressed ; wherever timber is cut it should be done in blocks and replanted.

I am strongly of opinion that land should be given out to the first applicant that comes along. I do not agree with auction, and the land should be given without premium, at a nominal rent, with stringent development conditions.

I consider that land should not be transferred to enemy subjects, and under no consideration should they be allowed to hold land. In fact, they should not be allowed to be in the country. This does not apply to neutrals and allies.

I have not been home for twelve years and am feeling quite fit and well.

Reserves.

I believe in gradually doing away with the native Reserves. It will be the means of a better labour supply. Squatters are twice as good as the boy that you get out of the Reserves. The children are not starved, and subsequently build a better man, capable of heavier labour. Out of the Reserves the birth-rate is greater and the death-rate less. Tribal discipline does not give good justice.

The present condition of roads is a very great handicap. I am in favour of District Road Boards with full power, with a Provincial Surveyor or Engineer. The labour should be supplied in the same way as with the P.W.D. The Board should be elected.

I do not agree with native education, beyond a

certain point. They should be taught honesty. My experience of native clerks has been most unfortunate, and they come mostly from Missions.

Game reserves I do not think are of any benefit to settlers. A man should be allowed to kill the game off, and should also be allowed to sell the skins to recoup himself. I should outlaw wild pigs entirely. They should be exterminated. Labour is not plentiful. I have had difficulties which would be solved by squatters and by a complete registration system and a stringent pass law.

I do not agree with indentured labour. An unwilling boy, indentured or otherwise, is of no use. I am in favour of local J.P.'s trying petty native cases. Under the present system I do not bother about coming in with petty cases.

Labour and Transport.

Claude Edgar Smith, farmer, Njoro, of nineteen years' residence in East Africa, said: I think the first essential is to put labour in order. I consider the native should be segregated or placed in locations, with a Labour Bureau under the control of Government, supplies to be obtained through the Bureau—the same system as the Carrier Corps, which would infuse discipline. I think that natives should be made to work throughout the year. I consider that under the South African Union, Congo, and Portuguese Governments there was very little loafing and crime. We must establish discipline before we can do anything with natives.

The Uganda Railway requires thoroughly reorganizing from top to bottom. In every other country the railways do their own loading and unloading, which should be the case here. The

Indian employee can only be called an "obstructionist," and is absolutely unsatisfactory in every way. We can never rely on the time when our goods will be delivered. In fact, the railway cannot be looked upon as a public servant. The delay often appears through the engine-driver, guard, and station-master holding domestic conversations.

I strongly advocate the employment of Europeans entirely. There will be plenty of ex-soldiers. I do not agree with the native learning the English language.

The present road system is most unsatisfactory, and agriculture is greatly impeded by the present state of roads. They should be under a local Board, who should have full control. I look upon this country as a country with the greatest possibilities of any country I have yet seen. Good soil; good rainfall, no frost, and hardly any hail-storms. It is better than any country in South Africa. I regard this country, from 5,000 feet upwards, as a white man's country.

I think, provided people live properly, the climate is suitable for physical and mental development. I have personally put in ten hours' work per day, and have not been affected by the nearness to the Equator. It is absolutely necessary for the development of the country that a reliable line of ships should be run, started as a Government line, and eventually taken over by co-operation. I consider that an agreement should be arranged whereby the total produce passages of this country should be concentrated to one line of ships.

Before the war, Hansing & Co. (Germans) dealt with my goods far cheaper than any English firm, I think through the volume of business they did and the subsidy received from the German Government. If it

paid the German Government to subsidize shipping lines, why will it not pay the British Government?

WATTLE.

Shipments have ceased entirely, owing to the war. I have orders for as much as I can produce, from England. Wattle is going to be one of the staple exports of this country. At the present moment Natal is exporting to India, Japan, and America. There is still a large area in this country available for wattle. There are parts not suitable for maize and wheat but quite suitable for wattle. A machine driver and chopping plant would reduce the cost of production. The said machinery costs about £150.

Wattle does not require the same amount of labour as coffee. Thirty boys will take off 50 tons per month of dry bark. Hansing & Co. before the war gave me the same freight facilities as from Natal. Nothing stands in the way, excepting freight, of stupendous Empire wattle industries. Shipping, bagging, freight, and all charges to London are about £3 12s. 6d.

I think that measures should be taken to prevent the industry from falling into foreign hands, but the British Government must give the same facilities as were given by foreign Governments before the war. I do not think land should be sold or transferred to enemy subjects.

Greater facilities should be given for good settlers to obtain land without delay: any method that will get the land out as quickly as possible. Auction interferes with the rapid distribution of land and does not give the small man a chance.

Amos Lyles Harris, farmer, Njoro, of four and a half years' residence, mostly spent on the Juba River and at Njoro, was the next witness. He said: I have mostly

worked with wheat, pigs, transport, and stock. Pigs do better in this than in most countries. It is a pig country. The greatest obstacle is freight rates. I consider that the bacon produced in this country is suitable for export. I have had a good deal of experience in pig breeding in the United States, and I consider the conditions are better here than in Southern States, on account of climatic conditions and the food-stuffs procurable.

Present Situation.

Research is necessary. I have not found out any research going on in this country of any value. If there are any experiments going on, the results are not disseminated among the people who require to know. Research is most necessary in crop. There should be a Department to collect results, and records should be kept and followed up. This is an excellent country for maize, and it has a sufficient area for a large production. I think the various research men should be together in some central station, with sub-stations to collect data and disseminate results among the farmers. Also by travelling agricultural advisers. I should be in favour of offering scholarships to induce students to come out.

The situation in Nairobi of the laboratories is most unsatisfactory from many points of view. The management is most unsatisfactory. I have never met any one who has learnt anything from the Kabete farm. If it is to be a business proposition, don't call it a Government Experimental Farm. I think the Government Farm should be a true experimental farm for breeding, management, etc. The Tropical Research section of the laboratories has been of no use to me.

A great deal depends on the man at the head of

the Department, a man who will assume the full responsibilities and has a certain amount of foresight and energy. In the United States the Veterinary Department is under the Director of Agriculture. Local knowledge is essential to the head of the department.

I do not consider this country should be dependent on other countries for flour—in fact, for practically any food-stuffs. I consider the difficulty of getting ploughs through shipping and other war reasons will have a very serious effect on the immediate future of agricultural production in this country.

I consider there should be a very high import duty on imported flour, but not on wheat. I consider local industries should be subsidized and compensated for by increased import duties.

Land Settlement.

It should be an easy matter for a *bona-fide* settler to obtain land. There should be stringent development conditions in order to prevent trading in land. I think this country is suitable for the family man. I think production would be cheapened by industrial native education. There is a use for native literary education to a certain extent. I think the natives should be gradually detribalized. There is sufficient demand for the natives from the Reserves to be settled on the farms.

I am in favour of roads being under the control of local Boards, with full control. Jubaland has prospects for rice and sugar-cane. I believe in the extermination of game in settled areas. Wild pigs should be entirely exterminated. I am in favour of making use of the economic possibilities of natives to the fullest extent. I think that one of the greatest carriers of disease amongst cattle is the native, who is allowed to carry

about the meat of animals that have died from disease, and left by hyenas and jackals.

There should be a stringent registration and pass law. The registration papers should show what particular job has been engaged upon. I am in favour of indenturing. Six months is too short a period to indenture natives. I approve of more power to J.P.'s.

Industrial alcohol has potentialities. Poultry raising and dairy farming have great possibilities.

SISAL.

O. C. Keller, accountant, three years in the Kavirondo country, Masano Estate, stated: We do not experience labour trouble. There is a considerable acreage of spare land suitable for sisal, but not given out on account of being in native Reserves. Our acreage is about 1,000. Some of the native chiefs are beginning to grow sisal. We require more land. One market for sisal is London. The machinery we have is capable of dealing with 1,600 acres. Anything under 20 lb. per ton would not be a payable proposition. We experience difficulties in transport. The roads are in a deplorable condition. The Government have been doing their best to keep the roads in repair.

Under ordinary conditions we have no railway difficulties now. It is a saving of time to have a native who is able to read and write. We have natives looking after our machinery. Partially educated Kavirondos show initiative. I think the native of this country could vie with the Indians up to the point where the skilled white mechanic is necessary. In fact, the training of the African would be a distinct advantage to the Protectorate. I think the agricultural prospects of this country are very great.

The Commission at this stage adjourned.

The first to be called on the third day of the sitting was Douglas Arthur Reid, Assistant District Commissioner, Nakuru District, who stated that he had been five years resident in the country, at Jubaland, Mumias, and Eldoret. Coming first to roads, he said:

I agree with the suggestion of Provincial and District Boards; the roads in this country are as bad as they can possibly be. These Boards should be elected bodies.

There should be periodical inspection by a district engineer or a travelling inspector. The Chairman of the Boards should, in the case of the Provincial Boards, be the Provincial Commissioner, and in the case of the District Boards the D.C. or Resident Magistrate. The Boards should be elected annually, and I think it absolutely necessary that these District Boards should have full power.

I am in favour of J.P.'s having power to try petty native cases. J.P.'s should have power to inflict punishment to the extent of a month's imprisonment or ten lashes, or a fine to the extent of a month's pay, acting under a code of instructions drawn up by the Attorney-General or High Court.

TRADES COMMISSION.

I consider a Trades Commission absolutely necessary, and agree with the subsidies, or reduced or free freights on local industries, to be compensated for by increased import duties. Some means should be found to utilize the empty tonnage and waste space of returning ships.

I am in favour of keeping enemy aliens out of this land entirely, and of prohibiting them from holding land and from trading entirely.

I cannot see any object in limiting the flow of

capital, as far as neutrals are concerned, provided enemy trade should not come in under their cloak. I think products necessary for the safety of the Empire, such as coal or oil, should be under stringent British control. With regard to native Reserves, I do not think it is a good idea to entirely abolish the Reserves; they form a sort of reserve to draw on for labour.

White Man's Climate.

Charles Baldwin Clutterbuck, miller, thirteen years a resident of Njoro, said he had not been Home in that time. He began with the climate: I think the climate is absolutely suitable for white people and their children.

There are possibilities in the export of cedar; it is fit to compete with any other part of the world.

The timber of this country is all-sufficient for its own trade without import. But the Government royalty on cedar wood must be considerably modified.

I am strongly in favour of clean felling and valuation on output, but I think royalties on timber are an adverse factor to farming industries generally. The present royalty is 150 per cent. on the value of a post for fencing. The only wood actually suitable for sleepers is cedar, though other woods might be suitable if creosote were used.

Nakuru District is one of the best districts for maize growing; the average crop per acre of maize is 1 ton. The district is capable of producing 3,000 tons. Grading of maize is an immediate necessity.

Stock Breeding.

Horse breeding has great possibilities in this country. It would be greatly assisted by opening up the Abyssi-

nian trade with mares, for these mares are capable of a strong resistance against horse sickness. There are possibilities of an export trade.

Game a Handicap.

But game is a deterrent to horse and stock breeding generally; people should be allowed to sell the skins of game destroyed, and I consider such game as wild pigs should be absolutely exterminated. Monkeys, baboons, and porcupines should come under this heading; in all settled areas people should be allowed a free hand with regard to game, and on Government areas vermin should be exterminated.

Concerning labour, I am in favour of stringent registration; I am of opinion you could always get plenty of labour if the Government did not stop it.

It seems to me that definite verbal instructions have been given to chiefs to put obstacles in the way of native labour recruiting. It would be far more beneficial to the country at large if the natives were brought out of the Reserves and made to work.

I agree with squatting, providing there is sufficient employment. A native should work eight months in the year for being allowed to squat, and the minimum year's work of a squatter should be six months—in other words, six months qualifies him as a squatter and he should be made to work eight months.

No Land Auctions.

I hold that land should be given out as quickly as possible; auction is a deterrent to land settlement.

I am in favour of annually elected District Roads Boards and Provincial Boards, *with power*, and agree with the principle of small local taxation, in addition

to the Government grant, for the maintenance of roads.

I am strongly in favour of enemy aliens being prohibited from holding land or being allowed to trade.

A great deal of improvement can be effected in the Uganda Railway. At present the railway takes it as a favour to carry one's produce; in fact, we are servants to the railway instead of the railway being a servant to the public. At present I am utilizing the railway to the extent of 250 tons per week.

I am a very heavy loser through robberies on the railway every year, against which there seems to be absolutely no redress.

Subsidies.

The irregularity of time on the railway is another serious disadvantage to business. Timing is faked. I know from experience when trucks are short there is considerable traffic carried on with regard to them.

It will pay the country to subsidize and so minimize freights of local industries, the subsidy to be compensated for by increased import duty.

The pig industry has excellent prospects here. I think this country is as good as any other for the pig industry. I favour native industrial education to a certain point, but I am against the literary education of the native.

There should be Government technical schools for natives, and alteration in the present system of taking native petty cases to distant magistrates, in favour of more power being given to J.P.'s.

East Africa and Productivity.

William John Dawson, general farmer, who has had ten and a half years' residence at the coast, Kikuyu,

Athi Plains, Naivasha, and Solai, said: The most important thing is to keep industries at present in danger through shipping from becoming bankrupt or going under. It is necessary for the authorities here to keep the Home authorities conversant with what we have in the Protectorate—in fact, to keep open a channel of communications between the two. The Priority Committee should point out the necessity of importing certain classes of agricultural machinery. There are cases where soft goods are being imported which are unimportant compared with agricultural machinery. It appears that the local Priority Committee are tied by instructions from Home. There are items which cannot be got from Home just at present, such as lubricants, which can be manufactured locally.

Advertise the land and products of this country at Home by opening an office representing the country in London, as other countries do. I am against the present way the Government is holding up land. I don't believe in auction, as it tends to the rich men getting all the land into their hands, and it delays the distributing of land. I think it would be sound policy economically for Government officials to hold land. Taking the population as a whole, it will be found that a bigger percentage find the necessity of going Home than those in countries of more temperate climate.

In connection with labour, I think that registration and a stringent pass law will assist the labour difficulties. Squatters under certain restrictions should be encouraged, such as a working period of, say, a minimum of three and a half months in a year. I find the women and children of squatters are of real value. Economically, a native is of more use out of than in

the Reserves. Natives have hitherto been discouraged seemingly by Government from leaving the Reserves: it may have been a war measure two months before the Squatters Bill came up. I think it was a distinct policy at the time.

I do not think the chiefs are in favour of labour. The regular Kikuyu worker going back to his Reserve is prevented by his chief from returning. A Kikuyu loses caste on leaving the Reserve. Squatters are breeding a good class of labourer. I think gradual detribalization is a necessity. Under the pass law a native must be made to engage himself for three months at least to be paid monthly.

I think that advantage should be taken of General Botha's invitation to investigate the South African Native Administration, provided the Government official be accompanied by a settler.

Education.

Primary and technical education are most important. I am in favour of locally granted scholarships for Home. Native education at the present time should be principally industrial, with slight literary education as groundwork to the industrial. I object to natives learning English. My experience is that the young Kikuyu can be trained to be a real good *fundi* (artisan), and can displace the Indian in time. I think natives should be apprenticed to farmers for three years.

The great necessity at present is real scientific research. Agricultural chemists are most essential. Scientific agriculture in East Africa at present is practically non-existent. The atmosphere of Nairobi is unfavourable to scientific research. I consider a central scientific station is necessary. I don't think there is any necessity for science officials to go Home

every two and a half years. This interferes a very great deal with the work. There is a necessity for small experimental places to be situated in all parts of the Protectorate. Complete records should be kept.

It is essential that experiments should be made in connection with the growing of rice, curry, and all Indian foods. Trading in cattle should be put a stop to. There is a possibility of this country becoming a large maize producer, say, to the extent of 2,000,000 bags.

All oil and like products essential to the safety of the Empire should be absolutely under British control.

Make it as easy as possible for any one wishing to start a new industry, such as free grant of land and protection.

I favour the appointment of a Trades Commissioner or Agent-General in London, with an assistant conversant with the conditions of East Africa, and am in favour of District Boards with powers. The roads are useless now. The money spent thereon is wasted.

I am not in favour of enemy and neutral aliens getting land from Government during the period of reconstruction.

Neutral shipping should be forced to take general cargo or pay increased port dues. This, of course, does not mean allied shipping, provided there are no secret rebates. Enemy aliens should be prevented from ever having any hold on the country in future. I consider the Civil Service of this country should be solely British. Regarding the present system of trying native petty offences by distant magistrates, J.P.'s should be given more power. Forestry experimental results should be made more available to the settler, with special reference to the producing of soft woods to take the place of Baltic timber.

Concluding Evidence.

R. Donald, Resident Magistrate, a resident for seventeen years everywhere on the Railway line, stated: I am in favour of the District Board principle, with complete power, with the assistance of Provincial Executive Engineers and local Overseers.

J.P.'s or honorary magistrates should have third-class powers in all things, and second-class powers in matters like Master and Servants Acts, provided correct returns are made and under revision by the High Court.

Missionary work has had a bad effect on the native. I have not noticed an increase of crime from squatters. The policy of natives living on farms has not increased crime.

Harold Duncan Thackrah, accountant, three years resident on most parts of the railway and now in Nakuru, said he was strongly against land auction. He continued: I think it is an unfair handicap to the poor man in favour of the rich man. I would allocate farms in order of priority at an upset price to desirable men. I would make the upset price as low as possible. The Government should assist the settler by means of Land Banks or loans against his developments. I agree with stringent development conditions.

Government should assist more than they are doing by means of a Labour Bureau and by registration and a pass law. I have been given to understand chiefs have an objection to natives being taken out of the Reserve for labour purposes. I think the potentialities are unlimited.

Taxation on undeveloped land should make up for the subsidies and low freights necessary for the fostering of local industries. If it is necessary to tax

imports, I would tax luxuries. I agree with a more representative control of the finances of the country. Also with District Committees or Boards, with full power to deal with roads. I agree with power being given to J.P.'s to try petty cases.

I favour the excluding of alien enemies from the country, but am in favour of inducing alien neutrals and allies into the country until they become subjects of the country. The railway requires a very great deal of reorganizing *re* rolling stock and also the fares. There is too big a difference between first and second class fares. I think first-class fares should be lowered, or that there should be better second-class accommodation.

This concluded the evidence taken before the Commission at Nakuru.

The Economic Commission had further sittings in Mombasa, in July, the members sitting being the Hon. F. W. Major (Chairman), Lord Delamere, Hon. Mr. P. H. Clarke, Hon. Mr. W. C. Hunter, Messrs. W. A. Kempe and E. Powys Cobb.

Mr. W. A. M. Sim, of the firm of Smith, Mackenzie & Co., stated that he had been in the country eighteen years, having lived in Zanzibar, Lamu, and Mombasa. Asked his opinion as to whether the German shipping firms were capturing the bulk of the East African trade, Mr. Sim gave his opinion that they were on the contrary losing ground just before war was declared.

German Monopoly.

On the other hand, British steamers were not allowed to call at German East African ports, so the German line had the monopoly there. As far as he was aware

neither the French nor the Italian lines called at German East African ports. He thought it was the result of an agreement come to between all the lines.

Secret Rebates.

Mr. Clarke inquired whether Mr. Sim had reason to believe that the German line had not kept to their agreement *re* freight rates. Witness only knew of instances before the conference when the German line went below their tariff rates. He had no knowledge of secret rebates, with the exception of rumours that he had heard that Mombasa and Zanzibar gave back a certain sum of money to deck passengers.

He would not be surprised to learn that in some cases deck passengers received back as much as ten rupees, which was put down as brokerage by Hansing & Co. Asked what means he would suggest to prevent enemy ships being in a position to carry off our produce after the end of the war, he suggested a preferential freight rate and higher port dues. He thought this should also be extended to neutral shipping.

To avoid British East African produce going to former enemy markets, Mr. Sim suggested a special export duty being imposed on such produce.

Lord Delamere pointed out that if this was enforced to neutral countries as well we should have to continue rationing these countries as at present.

After-war Trade.

Asked whether it was true that Germans had captured the piece goods trade, Mr. Sim stated that they had always had it. He thought the only means of keeping the Germans from regaining their hold on the trade of the country was to allow no German firm to trade without a licence.

Lord Delamere asked whether Mr. Sim did not think that the best method would be to keep the Germans out of the country altogether for a certain period, say one year, after peace was declared. We could then ascertain what lines of goods British manufacturers could satisfactorily supply, and protect these lines, letting the Germans in to a certain extent where the demand could not be met either in full or in part by British firms.

Mr. Sim thought the scheme a sound one. Reverting to the question of licensing enemy firms, Mr. Sim was asked what effect that would have. He replied that if only a certain number were issued, and the enemy firms had to pay heavily for them, with the understanding that they would lose their licence in the event of unfair trading, this would have a restricting influence on their operations.

Without penalization of some sort the Germans would simply revert to their old position as masters of the trade of the country.

Mr. Major inquired the reason for this statement. Was it because the German was more enterprising than the Britisher?

Mr. Sim stated that in his opinion it was due to the fact that the British manufacturer will not manufacture what is wanted. He used to get knives at 6½d. to 8d. a dozen from Germany. He had sent samples to British manufacturers, who replied that they could not turn out such an article, but could give him better quality at 5s. to 8s. a dozen. But this was not wanted. If a native could buy a knife for 25 cents, he would do so, but if it cost a rupee he would let it alone. It did not matter how inferior the article was.

A question was asked as to why the British manufacturers would not go in for such classes of goods.

Lord Delamere remarked that probably the better lines paid them better.

The Chairman thought that it was a fact that British manufacturers did not like making shoddy articles.

Mr. Clarke asked if it was not a fact that British firms buying Hamali carts in Hamburg had to pay more than German firms from the same manufacturers. Mr. Sim pointed out that this was due to the latter buying in far larger quantities.

The Chairman mentioned the evidence of the Njoro witness who was able to secure exceptionally good terms for wattle bark through Hansing's. Mr. Sim agreed that undoubtedly the German lines had a pull over the British in being able to quote through rates over the German railways.

British Manufactures.

Mr. Sim was emphatic in his opinion that, provided British manufacturers will supply the stuff asked for, we could keep our hold on native trade even after the war. He thought that if the business was large and profitable enough for Germans it should prove the same for us. He was asked if he thought that goods coming out from British manufacturers to compete with German made articles should be given a preferential freight rate and tariff.

He thought it would be a good thing, better than total prohibition. Asked if, in the event of English manufacturers making the class of article required for this market, whether we could guarantee to take all they could supply, Mr. Sim said he supposed they would merely execute the quantities ordered.

Mr. Major asked if he had not heard whilst he was at Home that Germans contemplated dumping vast quantities of manufactured goods on our markets on

the declaration of peace. Mr. Sim replied that the Germans were proclaiming their intentions quite outspokenly. All the same he thought total prohibition was going rather too far.

Mango Bark.

Asked about mango bark, Mr. Sim stated that American buyers had taken the place of the Germans. British tanners did not seem to take any interest in mango bark. He thought that the American market would continue to take all our mango bark after the war.

Copra.

The copra was quite up to the standard required by European markets. He thought that coco-nut cultivation undoubtedly had a future here, but admitted that a European going in for planting coco-nuts would need a large tract of land, as the soil suitable for the nuts was found only in patches. He thought the lack of development was due to lack of communications. He did not think Government had devoted a fair amount of money to the improvement of communications on the Coast, and there was very little to show for any expenditure.

APPENDIX III

THE HON. MR. MACDONALD (DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE) ON BRITISH EAST AFRICA

GIVING evidence before the Economic Commission in Nairobi, consisting of the Hon. F. W. Major, I.S.O., C.M.G. (presiding), the Right Hon. Lord Delamere, Messrs. Powys Cobb, T. A. Wood, W. C. Hunter, and W. A. Kempe, the Director of Agriculture, Hon. Colonel A. C. MacDonald, stated :

AREA.

1. The total area of the Protectorate is 157,000,000 acres; of this about (*a*) 20,000,000 acres are Native Reserves; (*b*) 2,000,000 acres are Forest Reserves; (*c*) 5,000,000 acres are land already alienated, and (*d*) 130,000,000 acres are unalienated land.

LIFE ZONES.

2. Owing to the peculiarly diversified surface and to the varied climatic conditions and resources, the Life Zones of British East Africa have not been accurately defined or mapped out, the staff at my disposal being insufficient to undertake the work. But roughly speaking the Protectorate can be divided into six zones, viz. 1, The Coast or Lowland Zone;

2, the Midland Zone; 3, the Upland Zone; 4, the Highland Zone; 5, the Lake or Lowland Zone; and 6, the Northern or Semi-arid Zone.

The Coast or Lowland Zone.

3. This comprises a belt of land 40 to 50 miles in width, running from Vanga on the German East border to the Juba River. Climatically it may be considered to be purely tropical, with an average rainfall of from 35 to 40 inches.

Coco-nuts have been in the past the main industry, but sisal, cotton, sugar, rice, maize, beans, citrus, and pine-apples have been proved. In parts, cattle have been farmed, but owing to the presence of tsetse fly this industry is not likely to develop.

The Midland Zone.

4. This lies westwards and approximately parallel to the Coast Zone. It represents a belt about 130 to 150 miles in width, covered in the main with scrub and bush. What is known as the Tara Desert and the Seringette Plains together with the Voi and the Kibwezi districts are included in this area. The Tara Desert and the Seringette Plains are for the greater part of the year waterless, but the land is sound, and a large area of the former under a comprehensive scheme of irrigation could be turned into a very valuable agricultural proposition for the cultivation of sisal, sugar-cane, citrus, maize, wheat, and other crops. With respect to the Seringette Plains there is, with the exception of small open areas to the south free from tsetse fly and which is suitable for the depasturing of stock, very little prospect of any agricultural development.

In the Voi and Kibwezi districts the rainfall is heavier and is spread over a longer period. In parts sansevieria, an indigenous fibre plant, is found in luxuriant growth and its decortication has proved profitable. Being a perennial plant, it was at times considered that in intervals of three to four years repeated cuttings would be obtained, but experience has proved that after the first cutting reconstitution takes a much longer period than was anticipated. It has been found, however, that after the removal of the sansevieria and the clearing of the land of scrub and bush, sisal can be planted out, and where water is available in connection with its decortication that this industry has proved successful and might be extended to a considerable degree. In some parts in this area land can be put under irrigation at very little cost, and such land, being of a light, friable nature, would prove suitable for tobacco and citrus culture.

The Upland Zone.

5. This area comprises an extensive plain to the west of the midland belt running from the German border near Magadi to a little beyond the Tana River.

It has an altitude of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, with a somewhat uncertain rainfall of from 15 to 38 inches per annum. Maize and beans are grown in certain area, and on the higher altitudes on the Mua Hills citrus and other fruit crops are promising well while on some portions of the Athi and Kapiti Plains and where the soil is of a mixed red Kikuyu and the plains cottony soil, sisal culture has proved a success, but generally speaking this zone is more adapted for stock raising than for agriculture, the short rich grasses offering excellent pasturage.

THE HIGHLAND ZONE.

6. This includes the Nairobi, Kikuyu, Kyambu, Kenia, Naivasha, Nakuru, Lumbwa, Kericho, Kisii, and the Uasin Gishu districts, and from the climatic conditions prevailing would appear to be the most promising area of the Protectorate for white settlement. In the eastern half of the zone the soil is of a rich chocolate loam, highly ferruginous. In the Rift Valley it is lava ash; and from the Mau Range westwards in Londiani and Uasin Gishu districts a grey sandy loam exists rich in humus. All three varieties of soil are somewhat wanting in lime and phosphate, but under good cultivation and with an average minimum and maximum temperature of 50 and 70 degrees Fahrenheit respectively, and a certain average rainfall of about 40 inches, heavy yields of various crops can be depended upon. In fact, in some parts two crops a year can be harvested.

The altitude of this zone ranges from 5,000 feet at Nairobi to 9,000 feet at Londiani and the entrance of the Uasin Gishu Plateau, falling again to 5,000 feet in the Trans-Nzoia region. On the upper elevations are to be found dense forests of many varieties of trees, chief of which are the African cedar and the olive; but the open areas are found suitable for stock raising, flax, and wheat, while the lower altitudes are adapted for a large variety of the tropical and temperate zone crops, the chief products being coffee, maize, wattle, wheat, potatoes, beans, sisal, citrus, flax, and in the sheltered hollows, sugar-cane.

Many other crops have been proved experimentally as adapted for culture on a practical scale in one or other parts of this zone, and it is not a question of what crop can be successfully raised, but which

are the most profitable to grow. Further, the Highland Zone sustains a very large number of cattle and sheep, and it has been proved that both pure bred sheep (in certain areas) and cattle (generally) thrive equally well as they do in countries from which they have been imported.

The Lake Zone.

7. Beyond the western boundary of the Highland Zone, the country suddenly drops in altitude to between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, the climate being warm and humid and the vegetation of a decidedly tropical nature.

The soil of a large portion of this Lake Zone area is what is commonly known as cotton soil, capable of producing very heavy crops. The area is mostly Native Reserve, but during recent years, owing to the interest taken in agriculture by the Provincial Commissioner of the Nyanza Province, very extensive development has taken place; the chief products raised being maize, sim-sim, cotton, rice, sorghum (mtama), and to a lesser degree sugar-cane, ground-nuts, chillies, and bananas, and in one particular instance, on one estate, sisal has proved a very profitable industry. Further, cattle, notwithstanding the presence of East Coast fever and rinderpest, do well, and large quantities of ghee are produced and disposed of by the natives.

The Northern or Semi-arid Zone.

8. To the north of the zones already referred to lies a very large tract of country (in extent about one half of the Protectorate), occupied in parts only by various pastoral tribes of natives. Little or no knowledge of this zone is available in respect to its suitability for white settlement or for agricultural or

pastoral development, but from data at my disposal I have reason to believe that most of it is of a semi-arid character, without rivers, excepting the Juba, flowing through it which could be utilized for irrigation.

On the other hand, and granted a large loan, the Uaso Nyiro and Juba Rivers in the semi-arid, the Tana in the Midland, and the Sabaki in the Coast zones respectively, could be utilized for providing irrigation on a very extensive scale for the culture of sugar-cane, sisal, and other crops.

9. Excluding the Semi-arid Zone, of which there is very little hope of much agricultural or pastoral development for years to come, and the Forest Reserve, which is not looked upon as an agricultural proposition, the remainder of the Protectorate comprises an area of 78,500,000 acres. Of this it is estimated that 1,753,000 acres are at present under cultivation and the balance is made up in pasture and bush.

So far the Protectorate has been dependent on its farming pursuits, and as there are little or no indications of mineral wealth in the country, it would appear that its future prosperity must depend on the development of its agricultural resources and potentialities; and I now propose to deal with the present position of the existing industries and the possibilities of their further extension, and to indicate what other branches of farming and associated industries might be established and pursued with success.

The Cattle Industry.

10. The original or native cattle belong to the zebu or Indian race of the bovine species. In the hands of the native tribes the breed has been kept pure, but little or no selection has been practised,

and with much inbreeding the herds have in many instances deteriorated. On the other hand, it has been proved that the native cattle are very susceptible to improvement, and with the fusion of imported pure blood, not only is there a gain in constitutional vigour but in early maturing qualities. This has been recognized by most settlers, and grading up has now become the general practice.

Unfortunately, owing to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient pure-bred bulls in the country and to the heavy cost of importing, the grading process has not been so rapid as could be desired, but with the supply of bulls from the Government Stock Farm and from individual settlers, pure-bred herds are on the increase, and further, the Government has now advanced money for the purchase of a number from outside: development, therefore, in the production of better cattle should proceed much more rapidly.

The settler is striving to produce a utility breed in the grading up process, that is, combining milk and beef qualities: but there is very little likelihood of the native following the pursuit of dairying.

The demand, however, for beef in the world's markets is annually increasing, and meat supply companies are making inquiries in all parts of the Empire as to the possibilities of establishing factories. Their attention has been drawn to British East Africa, where they are aware large numbers of cattle exist; but under existing conditions these companies are in doubt as to whether a regular and continuous supply of animals could be relied on to warrant the establishment of a factory or factories—the natives being averse to parting with any oxen except for barter in the shape of female stock, and which is only available to a very limited extent.

Yet it is considered that 50,000 head of slaughter oxen should be available annually from the Masai Reserve alone, and a further 50,000 from other reserves, and that the disposal of these non-productive animals would be of great benefit, not only to the Protectorate as a whole, but more especially to the natives themselves. Most of the reserves may now be said to be fully stocked, and some overstocked, and the disposal of the male surplus animals would make room for a large increase in breeding stock.

It has been suggested that a tax should be levied on all owners owning slaughter animals at so much a head, and further, in view of the fact that grading up has proved a success, that stock farms be established in each of the large reserves for the breeding of grade bulls, with the view of improving the constitutional vigour and hastening early maturity of the herds.

The Masai, notwithstanding their loathness to part with their male stock, are fully alive to the advantage of the introduction of fresh blood into their herds, and have already exchanged bullocks to the current value of a grade bull as a start in this direction.

To come back to the process of grading up by the settlers and the evolving of a utility breed of cattle, there is proof positive that a very large area of the land already alienated and of the land now surveyed and ready for allotment is suitable for both beef production and dairying : and in my opinion there are few parts of the world where the climatic and pastoral conditions are more favourable for the development of a large and profitable butter and cheese dairy industry.

Rinderpest can now be controlled on settlers' farms,

and where systematic dipping is practised, East Coast fever becoming a disease of the past, pure-bred stock for grading up and for the establishment of nucleus pure-bred herds can therefore be imported with very little risk.

I consider the question of the establishment of creameries and cheese factories should—as in the case of Canada and Australia—receive strong support from the Government, and further, the time has arrived when a dairy expert should be added to the staff of the Agricultural Department.

The Sheep Industry.

11. Like the native cattle, the original sheep are very susceptible to improvement, and grading up by the settlers in certain parts of the country has proved a profitable pursuit; but the area of good sheep-land is restricted in extent, and it is not anticipated that sheep farming will develop as has been the case in South Africa or Australia.

The conditions are not favourable for running large flocks: the country generally speaking is more adapted for mixed farming than for specialized sheep farming. On the other hand, the introduction of grade mutton rams into the reserves of the pastoral native tribes, and especially the Masai Reserve, would prove advantageous in view of a possible and probable export trade.

It may be asked, why not introduce Merino rams and grade up for wool as well as mutton, as is the practice by the sheep farmers: the answer is that scab is very prevalent throughout the reserves, and while it does not effect the hairy native sheep to any appreciable extent, it would prove disastrous in the reserves, where the flocks are being constantly

moved to fresh pastures and where, under present conditions, it is impossible to control scab.

The Horse Industry.

12. Owing to the prevalence of horse sickness, the breeding and rearing of horses is only likely to be pursued as an accessory branch of farming—the stud being limited to the number of animals that can be carefully housed at night.

If, however, a preventative or cure for this disease be found, there are few countries where horses could be bred and raised at such a small cost.

The Pig Industry.

13. It has been proved that pigs thrive admirably in the Protectorate and that the bacon and ham produced from the English breeds compare very favourably with the Home product. Outbreaks of swine fever are of occasional occurrence, but the mortality from this cause is but a very small percentage of the total number of pigs in the Protectorate.

The further profitable development of this industry, and for which the country is eminently adapted with its cheap food products, is dependent on co-operation among the pig breeders and the erection of co-operative factories.

The Government, I am pleased to say, is prepared to place on next year's estimate a sufficient sum to allow of a pig expert being appointed.

Maize.

14. In the year previous to the outbreak of the war 119,000 bags of maize were exported, but since then the surplus has practically all been taken over by the military.

From returns from the various maize-producing districts, the acreage under maize during the current year is estimated at 470,000 acres, and taking an average yield of 1,200 lb. per acre the total crop should approximate 2,820,000 bags of 200 lb. net of grain. By far the greater portion of this is grown by natives for their own consumption, but it is anticipated—assuming local hostilities terminate by the end of the year—that there will be a surplus in the hands of the settlers of about 130,000 bags of high-class white Hickory King maize available for export in next January and February.

The growing of maize is considered remunerative at a selling price of 10s. 6d. per bag f.o.r. or at 11s. 8d. delivered at Kilindini. The Home Government have been approached and asked to guarantee a minimum of 11s. 1d. per bag at rail head for the next three years, and if this is agreed to it is the opinion of those interested in the extension of the industry that 260,000 bags could be produced for shipment in January 1919 and 500,000 bags in 1920.

Provided however, (*a*) that facilities are granted for the importation of the necessary additional agricultural machinery and implements for the extended cultivation ; (*b*) that wagons used by the military be on the conclusion of hostilities made available by purchase for this purpose ; and (*c*) that the present condition of the roads be improved.

Mostly all the maize grown by the settlers is the Hickory King variety, while in the case of the natives the quality grown is steadily improving through the issue of good white seed by the Government. The growing of yellow maize is being discouraged, to avoid crossing and the production of mixed maize.

In some of the reserves high grade white maize

is now being produced and fit for export, but the natives have much to learn in the matter of storage of their grain after harvest, and it is difficult to purchase large quantities free from weevil.

Wheat.

15. Numerous varieties of this crop have from time to time been introduced into the Protectorate, and they, as also many hybridized wheats created at the Experimental Farms, have been grown in almost all the higher altitude districts, but generally speaking the results have not been satisfactory.

Experiments are still being continued in the creation of new varieties by hybridization and with further importations, in the hopes of obtaining one or more varieties which can be relied on for continuous cropping.

Barley.

16. On a number of the Upland farms malting barley has been grown very successfully, judging from the yield obtained, but except for pig food there is no local market, and in view of the cost of railage to the Coast and sea freights to South Africa and the Home markets, it is considered that other crops which can be grown on the land, such as flax, offer better prospects.

Oats.

17. Many varieties of oats grown for the production of oatmeal for human consumption have been introduced and experimented with, but so far without success, the climatic conditions being too favourable for rust.

Beans.

18. A very large variety of what may be considered indigenous beans are grown by the natives for their own consumption. Samples of all have been sent Home for report with a view to an export industry being created with one or other variety, but although they are all free from prussic acid and are fit for consumption both by man and animals, none of these varieties have been sought after for import into Europe.

On the other hand, varieties such as Rose Cocos, Canadian Wonders, Noyeau Blanc, and Haricot, which have been introduced by the department during the last nine years, have been grown very successfully, and are taking the place of the indigenous varieties both for consumption by the natives and for export.

Further, it has been found that seed from these varieties, when grown for a year or two in the Protectorate, not only as regards germination but the plants from such, have more vitality than those from Home-produced seed. Selected beans are therefore in great demand for sowing in Europe and also in South Africa, and if the 95 per cent. purity standard only is allowed to be exported, there are bright prospects for a large export bean industry.

The Home prices at present for beans of the above varieties range from £25 to £30 a ton, and are likely to continue at these figures for some years to come, but even at, say, round £14 a ton, which were pre-war prices, the crop is one which can be extended with profit, and especially as a rotation crop with maize, wheat, flax, and potatoes.

Peas.

19. Similarly as with beans, seed from this crop grown in British East Africa has proved superior to

the Home-grown seed, and numbers of European firms are now supplying seed to settlers in the Protectorate under contract to return the crop at so much a ton. After the war it is anticipated that there will be a large extension in this direction.

FIBRE.

Sisal.

20. This plant, which is a native of Yucatan, was first introduced into British East Africa in 1902. The results of experiments on the Coast, in the Midlands, the Highlands, and the Lake Zone, as regards growth, together with the satisfactory reports on samples of fibre sent to the Imperial Institute, indicated that a profitable sisal industry might be developed in the Protectorate.

To-day the output is roughly 400 tons per month, and in two years' time this should increase to between 700 and 800 tons per month.

The price to-day is from £75 to £80 a ton delivered in London, but under pre-war conditions as regards freight, etc., it has been proved that at £25 per ton the sisal industry has proved a profitable pursuit, and with improvements in the decorticating machinery and the methods of cultivation now taking place, it is considered that even at lower prices per ton profits can be made.

Owing, however, to the heavy capital expenditure, the industry is a company concern rather than for the ordinary settler to take up as a branch of farming.

The area of land suitable for the production of sisal is practically unlimited, and its further development is only a question of capital and labour.

Flax.

21. An interim report on flax has just been received from the Board of Trade, in which the following interesting figures are given as regards the world's production of this product for manufacturing purposes, viz. Russia, 400,000 tons; France and Belgium, 50,000 tons; Ireland, 10,000 tons; Holland, 10,000 tons; Germany and Austria, 30,000 tons; total, 500,000.

In normal time the relative values of flax are approximately: Courtrai flax, £80 to £100; Irish flax, £60; Russian flax, £40.

Present prices for high quality flax range up to £230 a ton.

The prospects as to a large export trade in this direction are very promising.

Pre-war prices were £55 a ton, while a consignment recently sent Home realized £220 a ton.

ORANGES.

22. Trees bear well in many parts of the Protectorate, but while good reports on samples sent Home have been received, it is doubtful, owing to the absence of a local market for the second grade, that the industry will develop to any extent.

LEMONS.

23. Large areas have been planted out with lemon-trees with a view to the export of concentrated lemon juice and citrate, and one factory has already been started for the manufacture of these two products, but the industry is very much in the experimental stage as yet, and much more detailed knowledge is wanted before much can be said as to the future prospects and development of the industry.

The average crop is estimated at 750 lemons per tree, or from 16,000 to 18,000 lb. of fruit per acre.

The lemon juice ranges from 30 to 35 per cent. of the total crop—say 6,000 lb. per acre; this can be concentrated to one-tenth of its bulk, viz. 60 gallons per acre, giving, say, 100 oz. of citric acid to the gallon, and at the ruling price in London, viz. £22 per 108 gallons, works out at about £20 5s. gross return per acre.

As regards citrate of lime—taking the above figures as to quantity of citric acid—the yield of citrate of lime would be 9,375 oz., or 586 lb., per acre, which at present ruling rates in London, viz. £27 per 6 cwt., equals £23 11s. per acre.

The lime required for the citrate is roughly 375 lb. per acre, or 1 ton for the conversion of the produce of six acres. Lime considered of sufficient purity has been found in various parts of the country.

In addition to lemon juice or the citrate of lime, from 20 to 25 lb. of hand-pressed lemon oil may be expected per acre, and this is now being sold at from 3s. 6d. to 4s. per lb., but, as already stated, this lemon industry is only in the experimental stage, and before any great extension takes place it would be in the interest of the Protectorate that an expert from the West Indies be appointed, if only for a period of one year.

Other Fruits.

24. Other fruits, such as peaches, pears, apricots, and apples, are grown very satisfactorily in restricted areas of the country, but beyond supplying the local market it is very questionable if these branches of horticulture will be extended with the view to export.

On the other hand, there would appear to be good prospects for a trade in pineapples for jam and pre-

serves. This plant thrives well in many parts of the country, especially on the Coast. And as regards mangoes there is a good opening for the manufacture of an export commodity in chutney.

Sugar.

It has been proved that sugar-cane can be grown in many parts of the Highlands and would prove a profitable industry for the partial supply of the local requirements, but the areas which are considered most adapted by Mr. Powell for the development of the sugar industry are :

(*a*) Tana River Valley, 241,000 acres ; (*b*) Sabaki River Valley, 20,000 acres ; (*c*) Juba River Valley, 50,000 acres ; (*d*) Kibwezi district, 2,300 acres ; (*e*) Kibos and Kibigori districts, 10,000 acres ; *(f)* Donyo Sabuk district, 2,900 acres.

For the manufacture of what is known as jagry the cost of the plant is small, but for the manufacture of an exportable product the plant is fairly expensive.

APPENDIX IV

THE PLAGUE AND GOVERNMENT—A MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE CENSURE

At a meeting of the Nairobi Municipal Committee last August (as reported in the *Leader* of August 18, 1917), presided over by the District Commissioner (Mr. F. G. Hamilton), others present being Messrs. Raynes, Henderson, Tannahill, Orr, McGregor Ross, Thomas, Notley, Ribeiro, Coverdale, Wood, Clearkin (the Acting Medical Officer), the Town Clerk, and the Municipal Engineer, it was proposed by Mr. Henderson, and seconded by Mr. Coverdale : "That this Committee considers the methods adopted by Government in dealing with the outbreaks of plague in Nairobi and district this year show a sense of incompetence, a lack of foresight, and a complete absence of any idea of their responsibilities."

Despite an amendment by Mr. McGregor Ross, the resolution was carried, with the following addition proposed by Mr. Wood : "and that in their opinion the time has arrived for the formulation of some responsible form of municipal government for this (Nairobi) area."

In moving the resolution Mr. Henderson recalled the efforts that had since the past year been made to combat the disease, referring to the public meeting, sending Home to the Colonial Office the resolution as a

consequence, and remarked that plague was no better at the present time than it was then, yet—"Mr. Secretary Long was satisfied that all possible steps were being taken." He continued:

"At that time plague was very bad. There was no serum in the town; it ran out in about a week." Then they went on until February 20th, when he moved in the Committee that more stringent methods be adopted to eradicate plague. The motion was seconded by Mr. Tannahill and carried unanimously by the Committee. About three months afterwards they received a reply from the Secretariat intimating that the Public Health Bill would in all probability be ready for introduction in two months. It was now over three months since.

The question of an additional sanitary inspector was next considered, when, on April 3rd, a letter was read intimating that His Excellency, after consultation, considered that the sanitary staff of Nairobi was sufficient. This was noted by the Committee with regret.

Out of all the motions and resolutions passed by the Committee, the only thing they had got, at present, was an additional sanitary inspector.

They would no doubt agree with him (Mr. Henderson) that the matter was an absolute scandal at present. They had no isolation in this country. Practically every urban district council in the old country had a hospital for such a purpose. "We have not even a little wooden hut to put an infectious case in." Such cases had to be put in a tent.

There was a little hut at the quarantine camp, which was used by an Indian sub-assistant-surgeon and his dresser, "where we provide better accommodation for our dogs." The quarantine guard was one askari.

They all knew that contacts had escaped, that was the reason why plague had spread to the outlying districts. There was not even a road or any drains, and he (Mr. Henderson) suggested to them that the ground at the quarantine camp was contaminated.

He then commented upon the effort made *re* the native location, under which heading came the question of a native pass law, and concluded by quoting as follows: There is no Public Health Bill as asked for by the Committee, no native location officer, staff absolutely ineffective, existing staff no means of rapid transit: no ambulance or cars provided for cases of infection; British East Africa has no infectious diseases hospital, the quarantine camp is a disgrace, no accommodation for Europeans.

In seconding Mr. Henderson's motion, Mr. Coverdale referred to the necessity of preventing the spread of plague, which was a danger to the whole community. He contended that a spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction existed in the town to-day, not only on account of the restrictions and disabilities, but on account of the possible subjection to attacks with the plague, subjects of which no information can be given.

The position to-day appeared to him to be worse than it did at the beginning of the outbreak: of worse form and dangerous character than hitherto. Owing to the steps taken Nairobi at one time was practically clear, but unfortunately the disease again reappeared, and left us in the old position of an infected area.

In every civilized community it was necessary to provide hospital accommodation sufficient for the needs of the community; especially was this so in the present case.

He (Mr. Coverdale) submitted that the only means of dealing with such cases was by the segregation of

races. From the Committee a scheme went forward in the light of coping with the disease and to prevent its recurrence ; the scheme was turned down, but finally agreed upon that the work should be carried forward. The reason given for holding it up was that the Principal Medical Officer was absent. However, that consent having been given, why had not that work gone forward ?

Applications for sanitary inspectors had also been refused ; in fact, the Department had carried on. Many things were held up for the return of the Principal Medical Officer. Why was the Principal Medical Officer absent for so long ? They were informed that his immediate return would be expedited. It was now three months, and yet he was not here.

We lived in very strenuous times, and more strenuous methods were as necessary here as they were at home.

In supporting the resolution, Mr. Tannahill thought it was absolutely necessary for the Committee as a whole to put the matter up to the authorities in the manner that was suggested by Mr. Henderson.

[Author's Note : Mr. Henderson is the leading local architect and Mr. Coverdale a prominent surveyor by profession. These gentlemen were popularly elected to represent the townspeople at the first elective contest in the beginning of this year, together with their colleagues, Mr. T. A. Wood, Mr. Tannahill, and Mr. T. Raynes.

At the sitting here reported there were present four official members, in addition to the chairman ; five elected non-official European members, and one representing the Goan community. The voting, characteristically, resulted in five in favour and four against a motion censuring the Government for neglect.]

APPENDIX V

RACIAL DIVERSITY AND LEGISLATION

In a recent action heard at Nairobi, Bennett *v.* Garvie, both Europeans, Chief Justice Hamilton, in giving judgment, considered the point of law raised by the defence, that under the Statute of Frauds the contract at issue was unforceable, not being evidenced by some memorandum—made in writing. The learned judge laid down that the law in British East Africa was based on certain Indian Acts, which allowed a sale of property to be enforced without a written contract or agreement. Bearing in mind that the Indian law on the subject was applicable (as laid down by Order in Council), the Chief Justice remarked :

> " Having regard to this proviso, I should hesitate long before saying that the Statute of Frauds was suitable to the circumstances of the Protectorate and its inhabitants. What may be suitable to a highly civilized country like England may be entirely unsuitable to a country such as this, where a small fraction only of the population can read and write, and there are grave objections to holding that an Act of this nature is suitable to some of the population of the Protectorate and not to all, for that would inevitably tend to an uncertain application of the law. Where the law is un-

certain the people are unhappy, and we have enough uncertainties in the law in this country to-day without my adding another."

[Author's Note: It is fair to deduce from these remarks by the Chief Justice that he considers the law of the Protectorate should for convenience' sake be brought down to the level of the least advanced of this polyglot community, which again brings us to the extraordinary doctrine in these days of progress that the higher developed peoples residing amid lesser developed races must abide by the elementary legislation to fit the lower races—which is rather untenable. This is very typical of many of the laws in the Protectorate. Space forbids other concrete examples of this condition, though they might otherwise be cited. Yet despite these views of the Chief Justice, the Protectorate has, in fact, differential legislation ; for instance, in the courts' recognition of certain native and Mahommedan laws and customs ; a jury in European cases and assessors in Asiatic and native cases, etc. (The law report relied upon appeared in the weekly *Leader*, July 28, 1917.)]

APPENDIX VI

HOUSING SHORTAGE

AT a sitting of the Economic Commission at Mombasa last July, Lord Delamere, touching upon the question of housing shortage on Mombasa Island, inquired whether Mr. Cox (General Manager, British East Africa Corporation, Ltd.) knew if Government owned any land in healthy parts of the island which they had not yet given out.

Mr. Cox replied in the affirmative, and on being further questioned, stated that only about twenty residential plots had been granted by Government during the nine years he had been in Mombasa.

Lord Delamere : About two plots a year! (Laughter.)

APPENDIX VII

LAND SETTLEMENT

British East Africa's Opportunity.

Mr. W. S. Bromhead, an expert on land settlement, writing in the *Leader* of June 23rd, in the course of an article, says :—

"There needs to be a complete reversal of old policies, which operated in the direction of excluding the white man and filling all positions that did not demand a highly paid European with men of alien origin. For twenty-one years unceasing endeavour has been directed towards turning this, one of the richest areas in the world, into a big ranching and farming country.

"The results of this diligent, if constantly ill-directed, effort to make a sow's ear from a silken purse may be seen on every hand. One or two of the oldest and richest settlers own estates running into hundreds of thousands of acres : yet I have not heard of one whose entire flocks and herds could not be comfortably depastured on 15,000 acres of improved grass land.

"Many others have secured properties varying from 10,000 to 30,000 acres ; and 500 to 1,000 acres properly developed would accommodate all their stock, cultivation, and plantations, present and prospective, for many years to come. Methods of land division and distribution have been adopted that would be ludicrous

were they not fraught with jeopardy for the future of the Protectorate. Had the country been a poor one, like the back blocks of Western Australia, where the rainfall is only 5 to 10 inches per annum and it takes eight to ten acres to feed a sheep even when fenced and improved, it would be understandable. It is surely time to reverse this traditional policy and try small areas and high development.

"A criticism has reached me respecting my outlined plan for granting 80 acres of land in coffee country to ex-soldiers as a homestead block. If this were adopted there should be very light capital qualification, if any; but no further land should be obtainable until the whole 80 acres had been developed and fenced according to an agreed programme.

"Areas should be surveyed into eighths of a square mile, every other 80 acres being reserved for the time being. Any hardworking practical man with a little money or a small pension could probably make good on these blocks; as would also the men able to get temporary employment in the country while concurrently supervising the development of their small estate.

"This would be at least as good for a certain class of ex-soldier as any offer they are likely to get in other Dominions; but it does not of course solve the problem of the untrained men or of that very numerous class that are used to being directed by others and are not accustomed to stand alone."

APPENDIX VIII

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE

Revenue.

	£
1910–11	609,586
1911–12	729,078
1912–13	952,525
1913–14	1,123,798
1914–15 (8 months' war)	984,756
1915–16 (12 months' war)	1,165,561
1916–17	1,533,783

Expenditure.

	£
1915–16	1,072,917
1916–17	1,197,396

Note.—Both revenue and expenditure include the figures of the Uganda Railway; in 1915–16, £629,994 and £342,694 respectively.

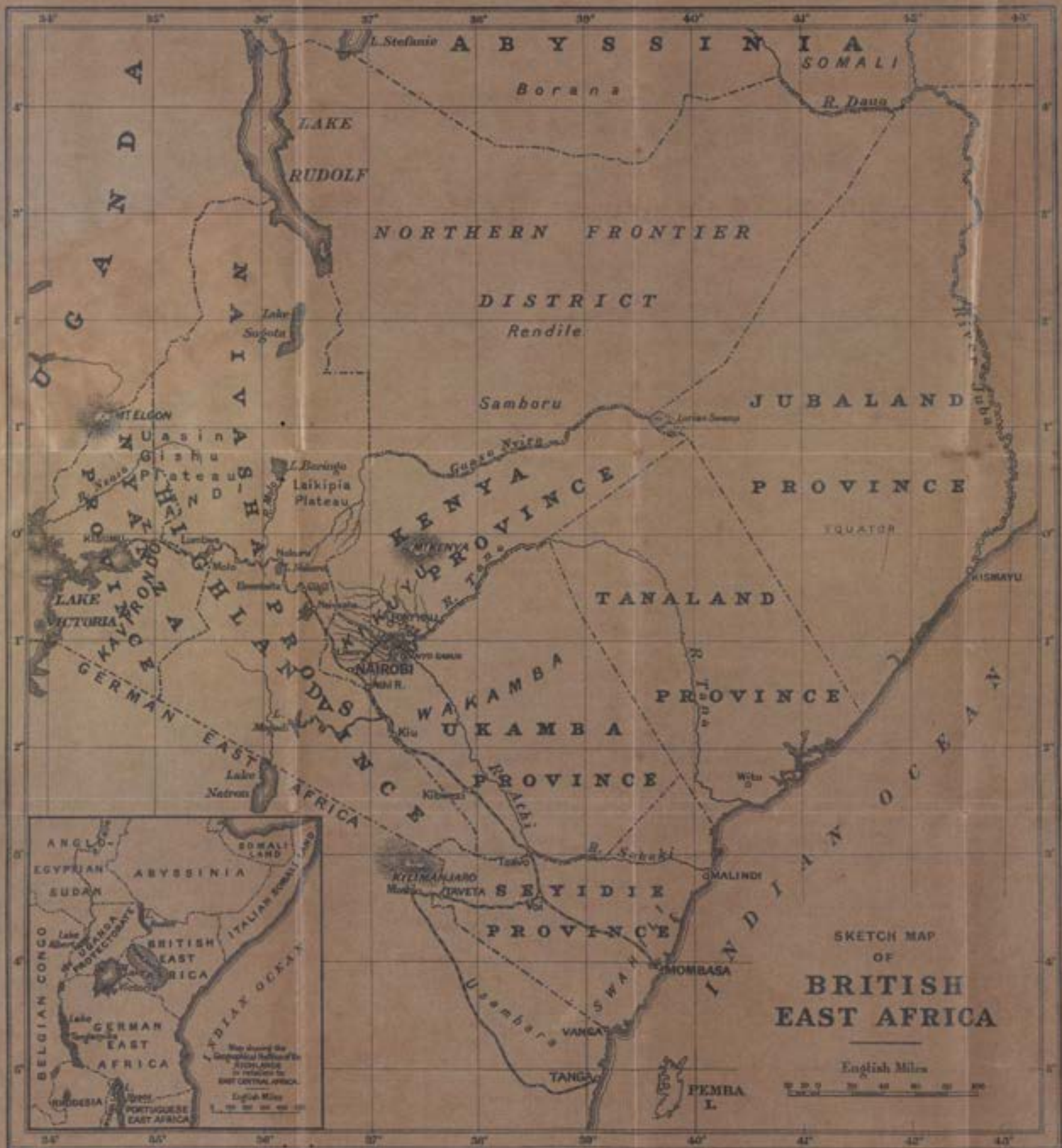
Exports.

	£
1913–14 (pre-war)	1,482,876
1914–15 (8 months' war)	1,004,796
1915–16 (12 months' war)	1,111,424

Note.—The decrease since the war mostly due to the suspension of German East Africa territorial trade.

Imports.

	£
1913–14 (pre-war)	2,147,937
1914–15 (8 months' war)	1,469,210
1915–16 (12 months' war)	1,708,333



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